7th Congress Discussion Articles
U.S.S.R. and League of Nations
Revolutionary Upsurge in U.S.A.

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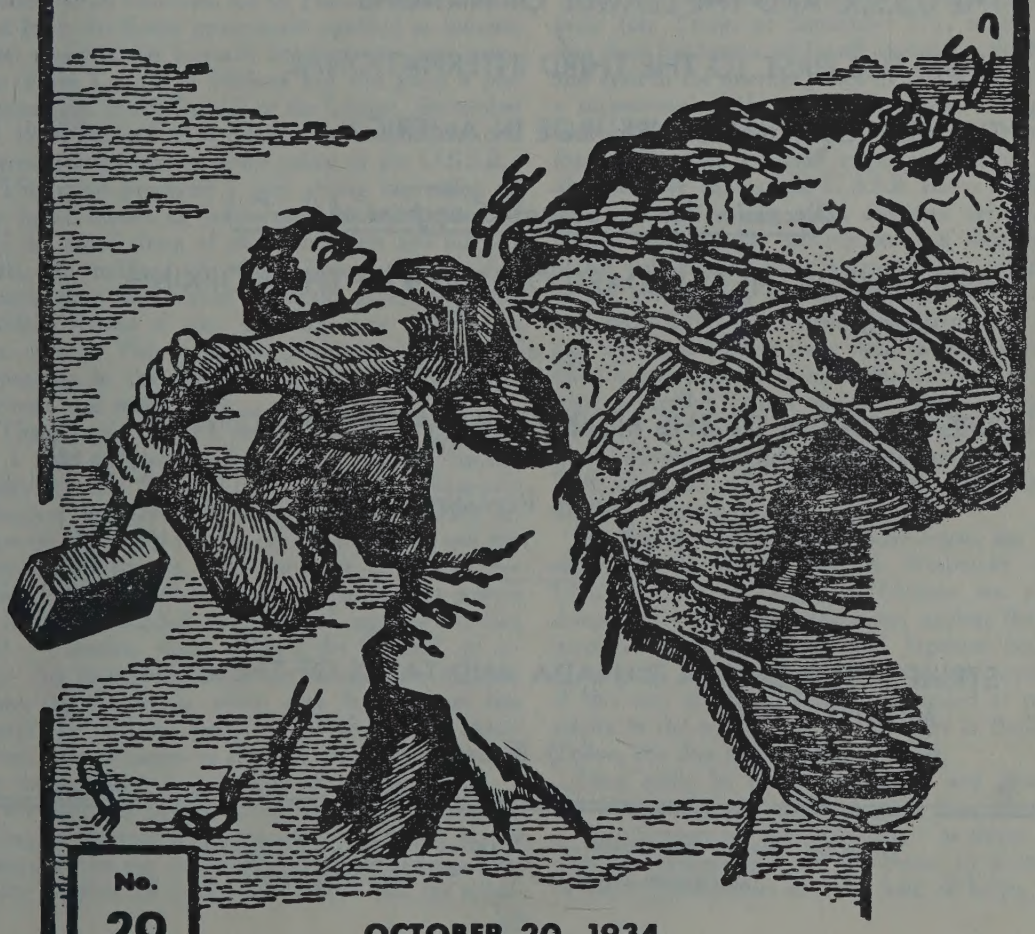
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL POSTPONED TO 1935

THE Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, after examining the proposals of several Sections, has decided to postpone the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International until 1935.

1. The date of the convention of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International is postponed from the second half of 1934 to the first half of 1935.

2. The periodical, *The Communist International* and the Communist press of the various Sections must at once commence to examine the questions forming the agenda of the Seventh World Congress.

3. The Sections of the Communist International must take up in their Party organizations the discussion of the questions on the agenda of the Seventh World Congress, taking into account the lessons and experiences of their struggle and work since the Sixth World Congress.

THE U. S. S. R. AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations has become a fact. In reply to the invitation of 34 countries, led by France, Great Britain and Italy, the Soviet government signified its consent, after which it was formally accepted as a new member of the League of Nations and was given a permanent seat on the Council of the League. September 18, 1934, was a date of international importance and a great victory for the peace policy of the U.S.S.R.

This event produced a very strong impression on the broad masses of workers, unemployed, peasants and the broad strata of office employees and intellectuals, the millions of whom during the last few months have been almost physically experiencing the pending clouds of war, to which they will be the first victims. This event also produced a very strong impression in the camp of the imperialists, the reformists and social-fascists.

Though this event is almost universally appraised as a new and outstanding victory for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, there are extremely *divergent interpretations* among the imperialists, reformists and social-fascists on the one hand and the Communists on the other hand, as to *the motives* which induced a number of leading imperialist powers to invite the U.S.S.R. to join the League of Nations and *the motives* which induced the U.S.S.R. to accept this invitation. Especially *diverse are the estimates of the results* which may follow from this acceptance. In the camp of the imperialists themselves, torn to pieces by internal contradictions, there are the strongest disagreements on this question.

We find the parties of the Second International trying to interpret this step of the U.S.S.R. as the acceptance by the Bolsheviks of the social-democratic policy towards the League of Nations (see the social-democratic press of Czechoslovakia, France and Germany, which will be dealt with below).

We find a similar self-deception in the bourgeois press (see *Temps* of September 17), to the effect that there has been a profound change "in the foreign and even in the internal policy of the Soviet Union", a supposition which merely shows how strongly the bourgeoisie hope to see a "new", *i.e.*, a bourgeois, Russia. Comrade Litvinoff emphasized in his speech of September 18, that the U.S.S.R. *enters* the League of Nations as a new social economic system, completely retaining her self-reliance and independence of her politics; she is not giving up any peculiarities of her government, and the U.S.S.R. does not bear the responsibility for former actions of the League, and will fight against those decisions and actions of the League directed towards the oppression of nations, generally; *"a new member joining an organization can be morally responsible only for those decisions adopted with his participation and agreement"*. This statement was a blow against those elements living on those hopes.

We find the British Conservative organ, the *Times*, expressing its sorrow that the acceptance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations was not accompanied with certain guarantees against Bolshevik propaganda. The German and Japanese bourgeois press grind their teeth, which is the best proof that if this step of the U.S.S.R. is intended to put obstacles in the way of the war-mongers in Berlin and Tokyo, the shot had reached its mark.

Here could be heard the shrieks and groans of the Vatican, of the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the obscurantists who looked on it as almost equivalent to sacrilege and the defilement of sanctuaries to admit Communists into the holy of holies, where

hitherto only the stainless angels of capitalist ownership have been found, and who foretold general destruction in the flames of the world revolution which the Bolsheviks will doubtless organize from the platform of the League of Nations.

All this discordance arises from the complex web of inter-relations, from the variety of interests and strivings of various parts of the capitalist world which is groaning in the grips of contradictions and is being torn to pieces.

The false interpretation of the policy of the U.S.S.R. and the discordance in the camp of the imperialists in their estimate of the event of September 18, must serve for the revolutionary proletariat as a warning voice against drawing hasty conclusions, against unnecessary exaggeration and harmful illusions, of which the most harmful is the illusion that the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations will remove the war danger from the order of the day. The Soviet Union understands very well that she entered an organization created by the capitalist States, she understands the extent of the limitations of the means and possibilities at the disposal of the League of Nations and that the limit of international cooperation and its duration, like the grouping of powers in the camp of the imperialists, is determined by the contradictions inherent in the capitalist world.

It must not be forgotten that among the bourgeoisie, not only in the countries which voted against the acceptance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations but also in the countries which voted for it, there are passionate opponents of rapprochement with the U.S.S.R., who carried on a frantic struggle before September 18 for the organization of war against the U.S.S.R. and will continue to do so in the future. We must not forget that Poland signed the non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R., following which she signed an agreement with Germany, which is openly preparing to attack the Soviet Union. This same Poland, following in the steps of the three great powers, expressed herself for the invitation to the U.S.S.R. to join the League of Nations, but stubbornly opposes the signing of the Eastern Pact. We must not forget the double game being played by England towards the two States that are at the present time playing the role of trying to start the war—one kind of an attitude towards Germany and another towards Japan. (Apropos of this, two days after the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations the London *Times* came out with a violent anti-Soviet attack.) We cannot forget the struggle of the various trends among the American bourgeoisie. *We must not forget all kinds of unexpected changes in the plans of individual governments,* whose conduct depends on the most varied changes in the internal and external situation of their countries, for the development of which stable time and confidence in the next day have long since passed.

It would, however, also be harmful to underestimate this big event. It would be harmful to harbor an over-simplified idea that in reality "nothing has changed". This would be simultaneously an under-estimation of the possibility of a sharper and more practical struggle for peace by the U.S.S.R. and the international proletariat, thanks to the new position won by the Soviet Union.

For the tens of millions of toilers whose lives are put at stake by a new world war, even the slightest step in the direction of averting this war is a tremendous achievement. For the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, the further guarding of the country of the Soviets is a primary task and at the same time is a necessary condition for the successful revolutionary struggle against capitalism in their own country. For the revolutionary vanguard, even a simple postponement of the approaching war, which opens up the possibility for a further struggle to abolish it or to forestall it by a proletarian revolution, is a big success for the entire world revolutionary front.

In order that the international proletariat will be able to utilize the new position won by the U.S.S.R. for the cause of peace and for attaining their class aims, they must have a clear understanding of two questions.

Firstly, what new conditions, what changes in international conditions, compel the overwhelming majority of the capitalist countries, led by the great powers —France, etc.—to *seek rapprochement with the Soviet Union at the present time,* despite their ineradicable hatred for the Soviet system?

Secondly, what causes gave rise to the *consent of the U.S.S.R. to enter the League of Nations,* which had been looked on by the Soviet Union as a clearly imperialist organization in essence and whose efforts to organize capitalist "order" had been regarded as utterly fruitless?

It is easy to reply to the first question if we take into account the danger of war which has greatly increased the sharpening contradictions among the imperialists in connection with the intensification of the crisis, and if we remember the enormously increased power of the Soviet Union, which is a very strong factor for peace. The attack of Japan on China and its seizure of Manchuria have created a danger to the American spheres and this, together with the increasing power of the country of the Soviets, was the cause of the changed policy of the U.S.A. towards the U.S.S.R., leading to the restoration of diplomatic relations between them. Finally, the coming of Hitler to power in Germany, which greatly increased the annexationist tendencies of German imperialism, which has begun feverishly to arm Ger-

many in spite of the Versailles Treaty, which is making great efforts to annex to itself Austria and the Baltic countries by methods of violent actions within and without, and which is trying to turn Soviet Ukraine into its hinterland by means of an anti-Soviet war. As the result of this, it has created a direct menace to the hegemony of France on the continent of Europe, and the looming prospect of a war of revenge against France has compelled France to change its policy towards the U.S.S.R., and this led to the invitation to the U.S.S.R. to enter the League of Nations.

The coming of Hitler to power in Germany was likewise bound to cause serious changes in the policy of Great Britain and Italy. Britain supported Germany to the extent that this was needed to weaken the hegemony of France in Europe in favor of Great Britain, and to the extent that it helped to bring Germany into the anti-Soviet front directed by Great Britain. But when German fascism carried on a frantic annexationist policy, it brought into life the danger which on the eve of 1914 had driven Britain into an anti-German alliance with France, a danger which is all the greater because, under the conditions of new military technique (the increased role of aviation) the island of Great Britain, without an alliance with France, is open to an attack. This caused Great Britain to change its front. Despite the strong contradictions between Italy and France in the Mediterranean and the Balkans, Italy was compelled to consent to draw closer to France when German fascism, by its policy of the Anschluss with Austria, became a strong menace for Italy. A number of the small and medium States in Europe have good grounds to fear that in a new war catastrophe they would lose the last vestige of their independence or would even cease to exist entirely.

French imperialism was compelled to take the path of rapprochement to the U.S.S.R., not only in view of the strengthening of the German danger, but also owing to the fact of the greatly increased power of the Soviet Union.

For many years French imperialism, as one of the chief organizers of the anti-Soviet bloc, considered that the Soviet Union was no longer the same country that, fifteen year previously, had seemed an easy prey to the interventionists. Fifteen years ago the imperialists could not cope with the Soviet Union, and now it has become an incomparably stronger force. It has turned from an agrarian country, backward in economic, technical and cultural respects and devastated by war, a poverty-stricken country, into an industrial country, a country of the most advanced technique, a country of agriculture on the largest scale in the world, a country in which an enormous cultural upsurge has taken place among the masses of the people, a country which is increasing its defensive powers to a tremendous degree. Even the class hatred of the French and of all the world bourgeoisie against the social and economic system in the Soviet Union, which represented a tremendous danger for the entire capitalist system, could not conceal the obvious fact that the Soviet Union was growing from day to day in absolutely every direction. This hatred could not conceal another undoubted fact, that the Soviet Union, despite all the shouts of "Red imperialism", was directed to the postponement of war and to conduct a struggle not only against an anti-Soviet war but against all imperialist wars in general.

Hence arose also a number of big successes for the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. during the last year, among which a prominent place is occupied by the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S.A., the conclusion of a series of non-aggression pacts, the adoption by many other States of the definition of the aggressor as proposed by Soviet diplomacy. All these events which preceded the entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations were a preparation for it.

And no matter how the nimble political acrobats of the Second International try to explain the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations as a forced compromise and a concession in principle under the pressure of bourgeois countries, the revolutionary proletariat of the entire world will understand the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations primarily as a result of its enormous power, the pressure of which had made itself more and more clearly felt on the course of world development.

If the turn in the policy of the imperialist governments from open aggression towards the Soviet Union to a policy of rapprochement—granted that it is temporary, but nevertheless a definite rapprochement—can be one of the circumstances hindering an immediate anti-Soviet campaign, if this is a great achievement (and there is no doubt that it is), then this achievement is also the result of the uninterrupted revolutionary struggle of the masses of the proletarians and semi-proletarians against war and capitalism.

All these conditions together compelled the worst enemies of the proletarian dictatorship to draw nearer to the Soviet Union and seek to secure its entrance into the League of Nations.

Passing on to the question of why the U.S.S.R. agreed to join the League of Nations, we must point out first of all that the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League is a natural continuation of its consistent and successful policy of peace. The policy of the capitalist world, particularly in the form of the League of Nations, has suffered a defeat in respect to the Soviet Union. During the first fifteen years

of the existence of the Soviet Union, this policy was either to attempt to crush it, on the pretext that it aimed at "Red imperialism", or at the best to draw it into the struggle of one group of imperialists against another. One after another the legends of the war plans of the Soviet Union broke down, the legend of its military alliance, first with Germany, then with Italy. At the same time, by its systematic exposure of the war plans of the imperialists, the Soviet Union has repeatedly succeeded in disrupting plans which were already prepared to be carried out.

In the world conditions which have arisen, when Japan, having created Manchuria as its outpost of war against the Soviet Union, is day by day provoking the outbreak of war, when German-Japanese rapprochement for war has become a fact, it is not very difficult to guess what caused the Soviet Union to accept the invitation to join the League of Nations.

The Soviet government, the proletariat of the country of Soviets and the revolutionary workers of all countries do not harbor illusions in respect to the League of Nations. They merely recognize on the one hand the significance of the change in the attitude towards the Soviet Union which has taken place as the result of the tremendous weakening of the capitalist world and the growing power of the Soviet Union. They realize that the attitude of the League of Nations towards war depends on who composes it at the given moment. For those imperialist cliques which, like Japan and Germany, who have already placed war on the order of the day, the League of Nations, headed by those who are not aiming for war at the present moment, is a hindrance, even though small and formal, on the path towards the immediate commencement of war. In this is expressed the growing contradictions in the camp of the imperialists inside the League of Nations, that led to Japan and Germany leaving the League of Nations, setting their hands free for war.

The entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations will undoubtedly considerably increase the restraining role which the League of Nations has begun to play in the most recent period. On entering the League of Nations, the U.S.S.R. does not to the least degree change its attitude in principle towards the Versailles system. It is still against it. At the same time it is against the use of the methods of war to revise the frontiers established by the Versailles Treaty. On entering the League of Nations it will be possible for the U.S.S.R. to struggle still more effectively and practically against a counter-revolutionary war on the U.S.S.R. and against imperialist war for a new repartition of the world.

Firstly, the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations will increase the isolation of the chief instigators of war, Germany and Japan, and will strengthen the anti-war position of those who are against war at the present moment, but are hesitating.

Secondly, on entering the League of Nations, it becomes possible for the U.S.S.R. to organize resistance to the war-mongers by many-sided agreements.

This policy of disrupting the war plans of the most aggressive imperialist States by correctly taking account of all the changes in international relations is the most real policy of peace, based on the interests of Socialist construction, on the vital interests of the proletariat of all countries, on the interests of the proletarian revolution.

What has this proletarian policy in common with that interpretation of it given by the social-democratic press in connection with the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations?

Neither the uncouth provincial roughness of the newspaper of the Czech socialists, *Social-Democrat*, nor the velvet tones of the speech of Leon Blum in connection with the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of Jaures (see *Populaire* of September 17) were able to lead astray the public opinion of the proletariat regarding the aims of the leaders of social-democracy when they depicted the new act in the peace policy of the Soviet Union as the abandonment of the former Bolshevik estimate of the League of Nations and as a transition to the position of social-democracy on this question.

Leon Blum looks on the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations as a "double triumph" for the Socialist Party of France. On the one hand, he claims, this is a triumph for the French socialists over the French reactionaries, over the supporters of Barthou, who was hurling thunders a few months ago at any attempt at rapprochement with the Soviet Union, and now ("such is the revenge of history", exclaims Blum) this same Barthou is compelled to make a burning speech at Geneva in favor of the acceptance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations. The second triumph—a triumph of the socialists over the Communists—is alleged to be the fact that the Communists have accepted the policy of Leon Blum's party, the policy of supporting the League of Nations and recognizing its role as a fighter for peace.

In all this reasoning there is not a word of truth. First of all, the French socialists have the least right to attribute to themselves the credit of turning the French imperialists in the direction of rapprochement with the Soviet Union. They have in the past with their conduct helped the bourgeoisie carry through their anti-Soviet policy. Since the first days of the October Revolution they have helped French imperialism to hurl dirt at the Soviet Union by backing up the legend of a "Red imperialism". They have helped the anti-Soviet war by voting for war credits,

participating in the preparation of anti-Soviet plans, defending the wreckers in the "Industrial Party" and the Mensheviks who were carrying out the orders of the French General Staff, and systematically undermining the united front of the French proletariat against their bourgeoisie. If there is a "revenge of history" in respect to Barthou and his confreres, there is an equally striking "revenge of history" in respect to Leon Blum and all those leaders of French socialism who, not wishing to risk the loss of the remnants of their popularity amongst the masses, admit of the war danger (it is admitted now even by the supporters of Barthou) which they have previously denied, and together with Barthou they approve of the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations. As for the triumph of the socialists over the Communists, on this question neither the enthusiasm of the proletariat of France for the united front nor the agreement between the Communists and socialists to cease mutual attacks during the period of the joint struggle will prevent the exposure of the whole falsity of this statement and the disruption of the attempts of the French socialists to make political capital out of the events which have taken place. Leon Blum and his friends will not be able to convince the French workers that the Communists are now conducting the policy of social-democracy in respect to the League of Nations. They will not be able by such tricks to justify their old policy nor obtain an amnesty from the workers for their party. Every thinking worker understands the difference between the present efforts of the Soviet Union to utilize the changed situation inside the League of Nations, when it has become a certain obstacle to the unleashing of war by fascist Germany and militarist Japan, and the participation of the socialists in the *formation* of the League of Nations at a time when it was very plain that one of the chief aims of its formation was to organize a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. It was the French socialists even more than their brethren in other countries who fell into the most vulgar and false bourgeois pacifism long before the formation of the League of Nations, bowing down to Wilson, whose idea it was to form the League of Nations, and even classing him along with Jaures. It was the French socialists above all who did everything in their power to raise the authority of the League of Nations and sent one of their leaders, Albert Thomas, to the post of leader of the Labor Office of the League of Nations, which united all the measures of the bourgeoisie for bringing about capitalist rationalization. The French socialists supported the League of Nations in respect to war and anti-Soviet intervention at the time when the imperialist leaders of the League were much stronger than the country of the Soviets, which was defending itself against intervention with the help of a ragged, bootless and starving Red Army. This has very little resemblance to the entrance of the powerful Soviet Union at the present day into the League of Nations, making the statement through its representative, Comrade Litvinoff, that it takes no responsibility for the past activity of the League and that it is entering the League not for the sake of war but for the sake of *active participation in the work of the League with the aim of preserving peace,* in the struggle for which the participation of the Soviet Union under present circumstances may have decisive importance.

The German social-democrats who capitulated to fascism are also wasting their efforts when they try to make an analogy between the present entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations and Germany's entrance in 1926. The social-democratic paper *Deutsche Freiheit* (see issue of the 12th of September) evidently forgot about the circumstances in which Germany entered the League of Nations, when the aim and maybe the condition of its admission into the League was its change from the policy of Rapallo to a "western" orientation, when German social-democracy, the auxiliary of French imperialism, stubbornly advocated and conducted the policy of "fulfillment" on the one hand and with equal insistence drove Germany from the path of Rapallo to the path of the "western orientation", *i.e.,* the anti-Soviet path, on the other hand. Evidently, even the lessons which it has received during the last two years since Hitler came to power have not taught it to see the tremendous difference between the entrance of the Soviet Union into the League and the former entrance of Germany. The representatives of the Soviet Union, where the proletariat are in power and are complete masters of the country, can bring pressure to bear on the League, relying for support not only on the workers of the Soviet Union but on the forces of the whole of the world proletariat. But when German social-democracy was saving German and French capitalism and groveling before them, clutching at the steps of their chariot, it sacrificed to them the vital interests of the German proletariat.

The French, German and Czech socialists are simply lying when they try to prove that the Bolsheviks, as represented by the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of all countries, now look upon the League of Nations as a strong citadel of peace, a firm guarantee against war. This is not true. We Communists look upon the participation of the Soviet Union in the League of Nations merely as a modest possibility of hindering the approach of war and we look upon it as a crime to the international proletariat to ignore this possibility, however humble it may be. It is not the thirty-four States which invited the Soviet Union and not even the powers which were the initiators of this invitation, and still less

the States which voted against the admission of the Soviet Union, which could give any guarantee for the preservation of peace. Both beyond the confines of the League of Nations and inside it, imperialist contradictions will continue to grow. The relative importance of the representatives of the Soviet Union inside of the League of Nations, and consequently its possibility of having an effect on the course of events, will depend on the forces which stand behind the representatives of the U.S.S.R.—growing Socialist construction and the growing revolutionary united anti-fascist and anti-war front in the capitalist countries.

The entrance of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations is taking place at the moment of ever-increasing revolutionary activity of the masses. In all capitalist countries, the proletarian masses are with the greatest enthusiasm overcoming all difficulties, are organizing the united front and are conducting a heroic struggle under the slogans of the Communists against the capitalist offensive, against the lowering of their standard of living, against fascism and war.

The growth of the relative importance of the U.S.S.R. in the world arena, the growth of its authority not only among the workers but also among the broadest strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, is a very strong reinforcement for the anti-fascist and anti-war fronts.

At the present state of the struggle, when the victory of fascism in Germany, Austria and Bulgaria has encouraged and activized fascism in almost all countries, the struggle to eliminate the split of the proletarian ranks and the disjointedness of proletarian activity has become a question of life and death for the working class as never before.

If we search among all the slogans for the one which has the greatest power to unite the workers, the unemployed, the broad strata of the office workers and intellectuals, it is hardly likely that any slogan will be found stronger than the slogan of *defense of the U.S.S.R.—the greatest stronghold against fascism and war.*

This is why the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses throughout the world will welcome the new success of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

In struggling under the leadership of the Communists for the victory of the united anti-war and anti-fascist front, the revolutionary workers of all capitalist countries, with the full realization of their responsibility, will treble their vigilance, will keenly watch "their own" native imperialists, will promptly expose and upset their imperialist, anti-Soviet, counter-revolutionary plans. While increasing their resistance to fascism and strengthening day by day the united front against the class enemy in their own country, they will best of all strengthen their fighting alliance with the proletariat of the U.S.S.R.

The revolutionary workers led by the Communists will march forward under the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Soviet Power in the complete realization that *it is not a new imperialist war but the victorious proletarian revolution which will relieve the world of the capitalist system, of crisis, war and fascism, and that only the Soviets will lead to the triumph of Communism throughout the world.*

FROM THE FIRST TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

THE formation of the First International on September 28, 1864, at an international gathering in St. Martin's Hall in London *became a turning point in the international proletarian movement.* It was precisely the First International, led by Karl Marx, the great teacher and leader of the working class, which "*laid the foundation for the proletarian international organization of the workers for their preparation for their revolutionary attack against capital, that struggle for socialism* ... laid the foundation for that edifice of *the world Socialist Republic which we now have the happiness to build.*" (Lenin.)

The First International occupied this honorable place in the history of the workers' movement because it was the *first mass independent party of the proletariat,* and an international party at that, which placed itself against all the parties of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois democracy, a proletarian party which was faithful to the working class due to the leading role of Marx in it, who based the party on the principles of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, the principles of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism.

Of course, these principles of the consistent class struggle against the bourgeoisie, carried to the extent of the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, were alien and hostile even to the views of many of those who participated in the historic meeting in St. Martin's Hall, and who later became members of the International and even of its general council (the leaders of the British trade unions, the French Proudhonists, etc.) and against whom Marx carried on a stubborn struggle in the International. Nevertheless, the International Workingmen's Association was the political-organizational form in which the principles of the *Communist Manifesto* were expressed as early as 1848; *for the first time there was gathered together an interna-*

tional mass movement of the working class, which, for those times, was a broad movement.

In the '60's of last century the formation of an independent political party of the proletariat was the *chief link* without which all the subsequent successes of the labor movement, in particular the Paris Commune itself—this first discovery and achievement by the proletariat of the form of its dictatorship—would have been impossible.

In reality, the years of struggle of the First International (1864-1872) lay at the *dividing line between two epochs.* The International arose at the very end of the first of them, which had begun with the great bourgeois revolution in France in 1789 and which ended with the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. This was the

> ". . . epoch of the prosperity of the bourgeoisie, of their complete victory. This was the rising curve of the bourgeoisie, the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic movements in general, of bourgeois-national movements in particular, the epoch in which the absolutist feudal institutions which had outlived their time were rapidly destroyed." (Lenin.)

But at the same time chronologically the First International also extended into the first years of the second epoch which was opened by the heroic rising of the Paris Communards and ended with the great October victory of the Socialist Soviet Revolution in Russia in 1917. This was, on the one hand, the epoch of the rule and decline of the bourgeoisie, of the transition from the progressive bourgeoisie to reactionary and ultra-reactionary finance capital, the growth of capitalism into imperialism and the domination of the latter, and, on the other hand, it was the epoch in which the proletariat began slowly to gather its forces and later to begin victoriously the world proletarian revolution.

In the first epoch, insofar as its content was basically determined by the bourgeois-national movements, the bourgeoisie were progressive and sometimes even revolutionary. At the end of this period, when the activity of the International developed, the bourgeoisie, in the greater part, were forming blocs with the feudalist powers against the proletariat that was rising to an independent political struggle.

In the second epoch, it is true, the bourgeoisie were still advancing the development of productive forces, but the relations of bourgeois ownership were more and more becoming fetters for these forces. Capitalism was growing rapidly, spreading its rule to all parts of the globe. But the bourgeoisie, if we exclude the colonial East which was on the eve of its bourgeois-democratic movements, had already become reactionary. They gathered around themselves all the forces of the old semi-feudal society for the struggle against the working class. The growth of capitalism into imperialism created the economic prerequisites for the splitting of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie bribed the upper ranks of the proletariat, found support in its corrupted and privileged part as its main social bulwark.

The *main class* which developed along a rising curve was the *proletariat.* It gathered its forces. It utilized the era of bourgeois democracy in order to create its class organizations. It began to rally around itself the toiling masses and the oppressed peoples of the East, who had been ruined by finance-capital. Finally, in the years when the contradictions of the imperialist system began to grow, in the years of the first round of revolutions, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie for power, it came forward and, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, the Bolsheviks, it secured its world historic victory on one-sixth of the globe. At the dawn of this epoch arose the First International, founded by Marx and Engels, as the *first independent party of the proletariat* and "for ten years the International directed one side of European history, namely, the side in which all the future is embodied". (Engels.)

* * *

The First International stood at the head of the process which became very apparent at the beginning of the 70's, the process of revolutionization among the masses of the proletariat, the strivings of the workers towards international unity, towards international solidarity, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The enlivenment of the democratic movement at the end of the '50's and the beginning of the '60's (the war for the national unity in Italy, the Polish uprising, etc.) weakened the political reaction which had set in after the defeat of the revolution of 1848. The comparatively rapid and broad spreading of industrial capital, extending to a number of new countries in Europe, and also the devastating economic crises of 1857 and 1866, created the foundation for a wider and keener struggle of the working class throughout Europe. This rise of the workers' movement took place on the eve of the forming of the First International and developed in the years when the *First* International already existed, and they formed the *main content of its activity.* Such events as the struggle of the trade unions for the reform of electoral rights and for the legalization of trade unions in Great Britain, the general strike of the bronze workers in Paris (1866), the strike of the tailors and basket weavers in London, the stubborn building strike in Geneva (1868) and later the sharp strike in Basle (1869), the bloodbath in Charleroi in Belgium (1868) and the repetition of the still more monstrous mass slaughter of

Belgian workers in Seren and Borinage (1869), the formation of trade unions and political organizations of the proletariat on the continent (in Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Spain, etc.) under the influence and direct leadership of the International, and finally, the Paris Commune which arose from a war conflict (1871) in which Marx could see the first steps of the future world proletarian revolution—such is a far from complete list of the biggest activities of the European working class in the epoch of the First International.

In face of these events in which the First International took a most active part ". . . all the governments of continental Europe were horrified" at the activity of the First International, ". . . the Pope and his Bishops damned the International, the French Parliament of Agrarians outlawed it. Bismarck, at the meet of the imperialists of Austria and Germany at Salzburg, threatened it with the crusade of the Holy Alliance, while the white Czar handed it over to the care of his frightful 'third section'." (Marx).

The bourgeoisie and their governments tended to exaggerate the power of the International. With the exception of the historic action of the workers of Paris, who shattered the old apparatus of the State power of the bourgeoisie and built a new one in its place—the Paris Commune—in most other cases these were but the first steps of a mighty class which had awakened to the independent class struggle. This class was striving towards the organization and towards the uniting of its forces, towards the bringing about of international solidarity in its economic and political struggle against the bourgeoisie.

One of the greatest hindrances along the path of the organization of the proletariat into an independent political party during the '60's of the nineteenth century consisted of the numerous factions and sects of pre-Marxian Socialism. These sects, historically obsolete, were then carrying on a stubborn struggle against Marxism and were already at the given level of the labor movement playing a reactionary role.

Lassalle in Germany, having founded the General German Workers' Union, led the workers' movement along the path of agreement with the Junker "social" monarchy of Bismarck. In France, *Proudhonism* opposed the strikes of the workers, opposed the organization of the trade unions, and fettered the activity of the workers to petty-bourgeois recipes for salvation full of flowery and conceited phrases. In Great Britain, trade unionism, which had consolidated itself on the basis of the defeat of chartism, restricted the workers' movement with narrow craft limits in the struggle for trifles and converted it into an appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie. The history of the First International took place in the *struggle of Marxism for hegemony in the workers' movement,* for the isolation of all sectarianism, of Proudhonite petty-bourgeois socialism and later of Bakuninite anarchism. As the result of this struggle, at the end of the first period of which we have spoken, "pre-Marxism socialism *died*" (Lenin); despite the collapse of the First International, the teachings of Marx *secured the victory* in the next decade, compelling their enemies to *disguise themselves as Marxists.*

* * *

"In these circumstances, uniting the labor movement of the various countries; striving to direct into the channel of united activities the various forms of the non-proletarian, pre-Marxian socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade unionism in England, Lassallean Right vacillations in Germany, etc.); fighting against the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out the common tactics of the proletarian struggle of the working class—one and the same in the various countries." (Lenin.)

These "united tactics of the proletarian struggle" were expressed in numerous documents of enormous historic importance, in the "Inaugural Address", in the "Temporary Rules of the Association", in the decisions and resolutions of the Congresses of the First International and in the brilliant manifesto of the general council of the International written by Marx regarding the Paris Commune, in *The Civil War in France,* and these tactics became the iron backbone of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. These "united tactics of the proletarian struggle" were always before the eyes of Lenin and Stalin, the great leaders of the world proletariat, the brilliant disciples of Marx, in their working out and developing the tactics and the strategy of the proletariat under the new conditions in the epoch of imperialism and of the world proletarian revolution.

In the "Inaugural Address" Marx shows how, while using the *partial demands of the workers,* which have arisen on the basis of the sharpening needs of the proletariat (at least three-quarters of this fundamental *programmatic* document of the First International is devoted to the analysis of the economic position of the workers) to lead the workers towards making *general conclusions,* towards forming their class consciousness which is irreconcilably hostile to the bourgeoisie, it showed how to lead the workers towards the program of struggle, right up to the slogan of the struggle for power.

"Neither the modernizing of machines", Marx formulates his conclusions, "nor the application of science to manufacture, nor inventions in the sphere of communications, nor new colonies, nor emigration, nor new markets, nor free trade, nor all these things together can remove the poverty of the toiling masses. Any new development of the productive forces of labor on the vicious pres-

ent-day basis must deepen the social contradictions and sharpen social antagonisms."

Marx further shows an example of polemics against the mistaken views that were imposed on some workers by the various tendencies and sects of pre-Marxian socialism, a polemic which fundamentally explained questions of principle and which is at the same time quiet in form, making it possible for all workers, even those who were roped in by this ideology, to participate in the united struggle under the leadership of the International.

Thus, when elaborating the successes in the struggle for legislative restrictions upon the working time (it is well known that the English trade unionists looked on this as almost the only aim for the participation of the workers in the political struggle) and especially the Cooperative Movement (as a panacea which was claimed to bring freedom to the workers without a political struggle and without revolution, a method preached by the Proudhonites), and while stating that "the significance of these great experiments cannot be overestimated", the "Inaugural Address" at the same time patiently explains to the workers who are infected with the prejudices of Proudhon that "however excellent cooperative labor may be in principle and however useful in practice, it will never be in a position to hold back the growth of monopoly which increases in geometrical progression, or to liberate the masses. . . ." In order that the Cooperative organizations could play their liberating role, it is necessary to destroy the rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords, and the proletariat must win the power. This task therefore became the "great obligation of the working class".

In the "Inaugural Address", in the documents of the Geneva Congress (1866), Karl Marx teaches us how it is necessary on the basis of the platform of the class struggle, formulated "sharply in essence but moderate in form" (Marx), to unite the broad masses of the still backward workers, to try to direct the most varied elements along the channel of common activity (concretely, the leaders of British trade unionism, the French Proudhonites, etc.).

The memorable statement of Marx lying at the basis of the Geneva decision on trade unions, on cooperation, on the struggle for the eight-hour day, on women's labor, etc., was written by him and was deliberately restricted only to *"those points which allow of immediate agreement and concerted action by the workers and give direct nourishment and impetus to the requirements of the class struggle and the organization of the workers into a class".*

Although conciliatory in form, that is, consenting to make practical compromises insofar as, at this embryonic stage of the workers' mass movements, they helped to unleash the struggle and raise the level of the movement, nevertheless Marx at the same time showed *irreconcilability in the defense of the principle questions of the labor movement.*

Any concessions on these questions would inevitably have led to Marxism losing the hegemony in the movement and to drawing the working class away from the path of the proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie and their State.

When Bakunin tried to build up his sectarian anarchist organization inside of the International, taking the path of struggle against the discipline of the International and of its organizational principles (democratic centralism), at the same time preaching the repudiation of the political struggle and "the equality of classes", Marx and Engels did not hesitate to split. They preferred to put an end to the activity of the International in its old form rather than have an unprincipled unity with the Bakuninites.

On this question Engels wrote at the time:

> "Now the sectarian squabblers are preaching conciliation and shouting about us that we are people who cannot be got on with, are dictators! And if we had acted in a conciliatory manner at the Hague, if we had smoothed over the split which had matured, what would have been the result? The sectarians, *i.e.*, the Bakuninites, would have had one more year at their disposal to carry out still greater foolishness and vileness in the name of the International. The workers of the most highly developed countries would have turned away in disgust. The bubble would not have broken, it would have slowly contracted, harmed by pin-pricks, and the approaching Congress would have turned into the most despicable and scandalous squabble, because the *principles* would already have been sacrificed at the Hague. Then the International would really have perished, would have perished from 'unity'."

* * *

There is no doubt that a great work performed by the First International was its participation in the struggle for the Paris Commune, which, in the words of Engels, was its "spiritual child".

On the evening of March 18, Marx, who had worked out the science of armed insurrection, warned the French workers against an armed rising, under the unfavorable conditions of the siege of Paris by the Prussian army. But immediately after the insurrection took place on March 18, the First International and Marx himself personally came to the help of the Parisian Communards with all the means at their disposal. The First International sent its representative Saraille to Paris. Marx gave various advice to its insurgents, including advice on military tactics. When in face of the counter-revolutionary government of Thiers the alternative arose for the Communards "either to accept the challenge to strug-

gle or to surrender without a struggle", Marx expressed himself in favor of the most determined action, not hesitating at the most extreme and violent measures of struggle against the Versailles troops.

> "The demoralization of the working class [*i.e.*, in case of surrender without a fight—Ed.] would have been a much greater misfortune than the death of any number of 'leaders'. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and the State which represents its interests, passed, thanks to the Commune, into a new phase. No matter how it directly might end on this occasion, the new starting point of world historic importance has nevertheless been won."

Not a single fraction of the French socialists who were at the head of the Paris Commune realized what it was doing, and only Marx discovered the secret of the Commune, that it was

> " . . . in reality the *government of the working class* . . . at last, it was discovered, the form in which the economic emancipation of labor could take place—the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat.*"

On the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx developed his teachings on the State, making the formulation that "the working class cannot simply take possession of the ready-made State machine and put it into operation for its own aims", that it must "*destroy* this machine", and put in its place a new type of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. He studied this first new type of a State, which made its aim the destruction of classes,—the Paris Commune —which "would have to be not parliamentary but a working cooperation at one end and at the same time both a legislative and executive organ".

Marx formulated the basic principles of the policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat—*the alliance with the peasants.* He wrote "the Commune had the full right to say to the peasants 'our victory is your hope' ".

> "Either the peasants will begin to hinder and will lead to the destruction of any workers' revolution", he said later in a polemic with Bakunin, " . . . or else the proletariat . . . as the government, must take steps owing to which the situation of the peasants will directly improve, and which will thus lead it to the side of the revolution. At the same time the proletariat must adopt 'measures' which in the embryo make it easier to pass from private property in land to collective ownership, so that the peasants themselves will arrive at this by the economic path. . . ."

The Paris Commune was the culminating point of the activity of the First International. Its defeat and the attack which was then made on the leaders of the International by the anarchists, Bakuninites and Liberal leaders of British trade unionism, who did not wish to compromise their reputation in the eyes of the British bourgeoisie by participating in an International which welcomed the Paris Commune as its child, was one of the causes that led the International Workingmen's Association to disintegration.

The Paris Commune opened a new epoch of world history. The First International "belonged" to the period of the second empire (Engels). The organization of a new one presupposed "labor parties organized . . . on a national scale" (Marx) and the organization of them in Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, U.S.A., etc., prepared a new international association of proletarian parties, and meant that "instead of dying away, the international had only passed from the first period of birth to a higher one, in which its original strivings had already to some extent become reality". (Marx.)

* * *

> "Between Marx and Engels on the one hand, and Lenin on the other, lies a whole period of the domination of the opportunists in the Second International", the opportunism which was able to take charge of the International after the death of Engels, "in the period of comparatively peaceful development of capitalism, in the so-called pre-war period when the catastrophic contradictions of imperialism had not yet had time to become evident with complete plainness . . . when the parties of the Second International had become fat and lazy and did not want to think seriously about revolution, about the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the revolutionary education of the masses." (Stalin.)

Instead of the tactics of Marx and the First International, the tactics of raising the level of the revolutionary consciousness and of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, social-democracy adopted the tactics of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, of the open or concealed support of the bourgeois dictatorship.

Instead of the strategy and tactics of the First International and of the founders of Marxism, the tactics of leading the masses up to the struggle for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, social-democracy adopted the tactics of giving over to the fascist bourgeoisie all the social gains of the proletariat—the last relics of the democratic rights of the workers.

Instead of the teachings of Marx and Engels, the teachings of the First International on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the path to Communism, social-democracy created teachings about democracy as the path of the peaceful overgrowing of capitalism into socialism.

There is not a link in the teachings of Marx and Engels which has not been revised or openly repu-

diated by the social-democrats from the point of view of their political class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The German social-democrats, who for a long time deceived the workers with the pretense that they were preserving the traditions of Marxism, spoke in particular of the tactics of Marx and Engels in the Franco-Prussian War, which, as we know, was looked upon by the great leaders of the First International (in its first period, before Sedan) as a defensive war for Germany. On this basis social-democracy, in the first world imperialist war, tried to justify its monstrous treachery on August 4, 1914, its policy of the support of its bourgeois fatherland. Lenin has long since exposed this maneuver of the social-democrats. The tactics of Marx and Engels in the Franco-Prussian War were the only correct tactics in that epoch, that is, the only ones which corresponded to the interests of the proletariat. They arose from a concrete estimate of the character of the epoch as an epoch of still incomplete national bourgeois movements and wars in Europe. But, even in this epoch, Marx and Engels approved of the refusal of Bebel and Liebknecht to vote for the war credits in the Reichstag and exposed the dynastic interests of the German government. The repetition of these tactics by social-democracy under the principally different conditions in the epoch of imperialism, was treachery to the cause of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. While remaining unhesitatingly loyal to the principles of Marxism, and developing these principles further, *Lenin was the first to work out the strategy and tactics of the proletariat for the epoch of imperialist wars and of proletarian revolutions.* Under the conditions of *this new epoch,* the old tactics of Marx and Engels should have been replaced by *new tactics*—the tactics of *converting the imperialist war into a civil war,* the tactics of the *defeat* of "their own" bourgeois governments. It is known that when following out these tactics, the only true tactics, the Russian Bolsheviks organized the great victory of the Socialist Soviet Revolution in Russia. At the same time international social-democracy, including German social-democracy, began its path of development to fascism.

With the necessity of an iron law, August 4, 1914, put the Second International and the majority of its sections on the other side of the barricade in the first round of the proletarian revolutions, of which the October Socialist Revolution in Russia was the first.

Together with the Czarist and Entente generals, the Russian Mensheviks shot down or concealed the shooting of the workers and toiling peasants in the counter-revolutionary wars which they conducted against the country of the Soviets. The German and Austrian Social-Democratic Parties in turn played the role of the vanguard of the mid-European bourgeoisie in the struggle against the proletarian revolution, against the Soviets in their own countries. The name of the bloody hound Noske will remain for centuries in the memory of the German workers. Without Noske, without Ebert, without Wels, there would not have been the present sufferings of the German workers, and there would have been no Hitler. In the place where the Swastika is now carrying on its bloody orgies, the victorious red banner of the German Soviets would have been unfurled.

In these years of the first round of wars and revolutions, the great divergence between opportunism and Communism, the beginning of which had been laid by the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., ended in the civil war between the Communists and the counter-revolutionary social-democrats.

In these stormy years, Lenin formed the *Third, Communist, International* from the revolutionary elements of the Second International who, during the war, had rallied around the Bolshevik Party. This International had full reason to consider itself as the *only historic heir and continuation of the work of the "Communist League" and the "International Workingmen's Association".*

The split with opportunism, that later grew into social-patriotism and social-fascism, which was announced and carried through by Lenin and the Bolsheviks at first in Czarist Russia and then throughout the world, was not caused by the "quarrelsomeness" or "sectarianism" of the Bolsheviks, as the social-democratic leaders tried to represent. It became a historic necessity in the epoch of imperialism owing to the splitting of the labor movement by social-democracy, the basis of which was now the priveleged aristocracy of the working class, bribed by the bourgeoisie from their monopolist super-profits.

With the exception of England, this systematic bribery of the aristocracy of the working class by the bourgeoisie had not existed at the time of the struggle of the First International. There had also not yet been formed definite parties as agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class (there were merely petty bourgeois sects and trends). But why could Marx, while uniting the movements of various countries, try to direct the various forms of pre-Marxian socialism along the channel of joint activity *inside* the organization of the First International, calculating that the revolutionary mass of the proletariat in combination with the irreconcilable struggle of principles against the theory of all of these sects inside of the International would lead to the triumph of Marxism, of its revolutionary strategy and tactics, its organizational principles, of the construction of the fighting independent party of the proletariat? The defeat of the Paris Commune and the subsequent strengthening of the disintegrating actions of the anarchist sect headed by the "Social Democratic Alliance" of Bakunin under the growing reactionary con-

ditions insistently required the *cleansing* of the International from petty-bourgeois and lumpen proletarian elements. This was done by Marx and Engels at the Hague congress of the First International, when they *expelled* the Bakunin organization from the International Workingmen's Association.

At the period of the Second International, several years later, when openly opportunist wings began to be formed in the social-democratic parties, the founders of Marxism foresaw the inevitability and the necessity of a split with the opportunists.

This split became a *historic necessity* in the epoch of imperialism, when social-democracy had chained the proletariat with its political class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The great services of Lenin and the Bolsheviks are that they understood what was *new* both in this epoch of capitalism (the overgrowing of capitalism into imperialism) and in the workers' movement (the bribery of the priveleged upper ranks of the workers by the bourgeoisie, so that they can become the basis of the social-democratic party), and consistantly drew *all the practical conclusions* therefrom.

The split with opportunism and the formation of a party of a *new type* differing completely from the parties of the Second International, which were adapted to peaceful parliamentary work, to politics and to the tactics of conciliation and compromise with the bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, the formation of genuine *Communist Parties* capable of struggling for the complete destruction of the bourgeoisie and the winning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, were historically the *first step towards the restoration of the fighting unity of the proletariat in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie.* Without this step there would not have been the great victories of the Socialist revolution, there would not have been the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of the world proletarian revolution.

Communists must patiently explain this lesson of the Russian Bolsheviks to the social-democratic workers, especially those who are infected by the usual slogans of the social-democratic leaders regarding the struggle for "organic unity", under which they understand the liquidation of the Communist Party and its absorption in the social-democratic organizations.

The Communists are for the fighting unity of the working class. But this unity can and will be forged out only in the *struggle against the theory and tactics of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie,* which is the *essence* of the policy of all social-democratic parties. *Communists are for the unity of all the workers in a single revolutionary proletarian party,* the program and tactics of which have as their aim a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for soviets, not in words, but in deeds, *i.e.*, it is the *program and tactics of the Comintern.*

But Communists are against unprincipled "organic" unity, as preached by social-democracy, because the uniting of the Communist Party, whose policy is the policy of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the social-democratic party, the essence of whose policy, despite all its "Left" phrases, amounts to some form of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, can only strengthen the bourgeoisie and weaken the proletariat.

The broad proletarian masses in the capitalist countries are feeling at present a powerful striving towards unity. They have still a hazy idea as to how this can be brought about. But one thing they know well—*they need this unity for the struggle against fascism, for the struggle against capital, and not for conciliation with them.* Many proletarians who have thoroughly learned this, particularly by the lessons of Germany and Austria, still consider themselves to be social-democrats and are even members of the social-democratic organizations. In reality they are already leaving social-democracy though they have not yet reached the shore of Communism.

It depends more than ever before on the Communists, *on the bold development of the united front by them in the struggle against fascism and war,* what will be the speed with which the social-democratic workers are transferred from the channel of the social-democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie into the channel of the mass struggle against it, *i.e.*, the time of the preparation of the proletariat for the decisive struggle for power. *The most profound Marxist-Leninist purity of principles, hostile to all sectarian doctrines, combined with their wide mass scope, with the ability to speak not only to thousands, not only to hundreds of thousands, but to millions of workers,* in language which inflames them and mobilizes them for the struggle, alien to all tailism—in this lies the guarantee of success in conducting the tactics of the united front. Marx and Engels, on the experience of the First International, taught the revolutionary vanguard this purity of principles and such a mass scope. The great Lenin, when preparing to storm the stronghold of the bourgeoisie in October, 1917, taught this to the proletarian party. This is being taught by the beloved leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin. The class conscious proletariat and the toiling masses of the whole world, encouraged by the great example of the country of the Soviets, are rallying around Comrade Stalin, and are organizing the last decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie under their own decisive slogan: "Workers of the World, Unite!"

THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE IN AMERICA

THE tremendous class battles which are shaking the United States in recent months have great significance for the revolutionary proletariat of the entire world.

We are witnessing a continually rising wave of mass strike struggles which have penetrated almost every section of the country—not only the industrial North, but the former slaveholding South and the Far West. It involves almost all the basic industries of the country, including important centers of coal, iron and copper mining, large automobile plants (also rubber) and some metal and aviation plants, transportation, marine, aluminum, oil and textile. In auto and steel the workers have voted for general strikes, but the A. F. of L. leadership was able so far to stave off this strike movement. In the textile industry the strike took on the character of a general strike, the largest in the history of the country. The entire Pacific Coast and many Southern ports of the marine industry were involved in strike struggles, and a marine strike on the Atlantic Coast was averted only at the last moment by the arbitration maneuvers of the reformist leaders. The general strikes in San Francisco and Hazleton, Pa., were solidarity strikes. In Toledo, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Seattle, Portland and Butte, the workers had already decided in favor of general strike but the leadership of the A. F. of L. was able to stop them.

In the strikes beginning with the Roosevelt N.R.A. policy nearly 3,000,000 workers participated—a figure that is approaching the largest strike wave in the history of the U.S., that of 1919. But, insofar as the heroic determination of the workers to struggle is concerned, such examples of unity of action are almost unparalleled in the history of the United States.

These social struggles in the main center of world capitalism reveal the deep-going changes taking place in the ranks of the working class, and they are the sharpest reflection of the growing difficulties of the bourgeoisie in their attempts to bring about "recovery", to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses. These difficulties are making it increasingly necessary for the bourgeoisie to resort to the use of fascist-like methods of repression against the workers, and at the same time engaging in a whole series of demagogic maneuvers, in order not yet completely to drop the mask of "democracy" which covers up the continually tightening grip of monopoly capital as embodied in the Roosevelt program.

The American events of 1934 recall that only five years ago, on the eve of the outbreak of the economic crisis, the American representative of the Right opportunist line, Lovestone, expounded the theory of "American exceptionalism"; he denied the break-up of capitalist stabilization in the U.S., and joined with the international Right wing in conducting a struggle against the line of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, which declared that the capitalist world was passing to a period of revolutionary upsurge. The Trotzkyites, too, joined this opportunist chorus to the tune of the struggle against the estimate of the third period by the Sixth World Congress. This renegades' chorus has long ago been answered by the events of the past few years since the outbreak of the world economic crisis. It has been drowned by the roar of cannon during the armed struggle of the Austrian proletariat, by the sound of rifle fire in the streets of Paris, by the general strike in France, by the events in Germany, the victories of Soviet China, the general strike and armed uprising in Spain, etc. And now, the rising tide of struggle in America, climaxed by the general strike in San Francisco and the textile general strike, once more confirm that only by the most relentless struggle against the theory of "exceptionalism", only by the complete defeat of the opportunists of both Right and "Left", who have now gone over to the camp of counter-revolution, was it possible to ideologically arm the Communist Parties and prepare them for the great class battles which followed each other in rapid succession.

In America, the Hoover period, which was supposed to usher in a "new epoch" of permanent prosperity, miraculously escaping all the contradictions of the capitalist world, rapidly gave way under the impact of the crisis to mass unemployment, sweeping wage cuts, intensification of exploitation and wholesale impoverishment of the small and middle farmers, which gave rise to the *beginning* of big struggles of the employed and unemployed, and movements of the discontented petty bourgeoisie, of veterans, farmers, etc.

The N.R.A. was inaugurated at a time when the masses of workers began to express a desire for struggle, when big strikes in auto, mining, etc., were developing, in some of which the Party and revolutionary unions played an important role. At the time of the lowest point in the crisis, when the outlook seemed the gloomiest, the American bourgeoisie gave its support to Roosevelt, hoping that "new methods" might succeed in extricating the bourgeoisie from its difficult position.

The Roosevelt "New Deal" was hailed loudly as a means of overcoming the crisis through planning under capitalism and guaranteeing the rights of the

workers to organize. In reality the "Roosevelt Revolution" aimed at the organization, to a still greater extent than before, of State support to the capitalist monopolies through subsidies and regulated inflation, in both instances at the expense of the workers; it also aimed to disguise the process of fascization and imperialist war preparations under cover of a barrage of social-demagogy about the "forgotten man".

But this did not prevent the social-democracy and the trade union bureaucrats in America and Europe from joining the chorus of capitalist economists who spoke about the "bloodless revolution" in Washington, a new brand of the theory of "exceptionalism". The reformist and the renegades helped sow the illusions in the Roosevelt program, to a greater or lesser degree, by acclaiming the N.R.A. as a step forward for American labor; Norman Thomas even declared it to be a "step toward Socialism" and declared "now is not the time to strike". Thomas and Hillquit journeyed to Washington to tell the President of their support. Other socialists, like Upton Sinclair and Paul Blanshard, not satisfied with even this qualified support tempered by mild criticism, left the Socialist Party and became ardent Roosevelt supporters.

But the "honeymoon period" of the Roosevelt regime passed very quickly, and the forecast made by the Communist Party a year ago, in analyzing the New Deal, has been tested and found correct. After a brief spurt, production again declined, although not to the old low level; unemployment was only slightly reduced; the rise in nominal wages was more than offset by increased prices. All the hopes of the bourgeoisie to find a return to "prosperity" even though the bourgeoisie cashed in huge profits, proved illusory.

> ". . . can we deny the *contrast* between the classes, the propertied class, the class of capitalists and the class of toilers, the class of proletarians. . . . How can one reconcile such opposite interests and strivings? Insofar as I know, Roosevelt did not succeed in finding a way to reconcile these interests. Yes, and this is impossible, as is shown by experience." (Stalin, in interview with Wells.)

Under the enormous executive powers placed in the hands of Roosevelt, the big trusts were able to realize their fondest dreams, and proceeded to the consolidation of their monopolist position, the swallowing up of their smaller competitors, and the squeezing out of the petty bourgeoisie; in comparison with 1932 profits increased 600 per cent for the first half of 1934, according to official figures; wages were pared down to a minimum level, and further reduced by the shortening of hours, at a time when prices rose rapidly as a result of inflationary measures and the government crop-destruction program; and the price rise was accentuated by drought; billions of dollars in subsidies have been pumped into the veins of the nearly bankrupt railroads, banks, etc.; unemployment relief has been drastically reduced; forced labor camps have been established for half a million youth, and concentration camps for the homeless unemployed; "economy" prompted the government to reduce the salaries of government employees and veterans' compensation; the "public works" program consists of a huge aviation and naval building program to match that of the British and Japanese imperialists; arbitration boards are established whose aim it is to prevent and outlaw all strikes of the workers who are resisting the capitalist offensive, and link the unions more closely with the State apparatus; finally, the strengthening of company unions on one hand, and, on the other, the strengthening of the hand of the reformist trade union leaders to carry out the policy of the employers and the government against the revolutionary unions and the revolutionary leadership of strike struggles. These are the high points of the Roosevelt "New Deal", which the Communist Party at the outset accurately described as a program of hunger for the toilers, fascization and war.

It did not take long before the illusions created by the demagogy of Roosevelt and his supporters among the A. F. of L. and socialist leaders received a rude shock in the strike wave that was unloosed after the adoption of the N.R.A. The workers who were trapped and deceived into supporting the Roosevelt program found that the N.R.A. codes did not raise their living standards, but lowered them, that strikes for the "right to organize" were met by armed forces of the employers and the government. While the first strikes took place under the slogan of "Help Roosevelt enforce the N.R.A.", they were very soon transformed into *struggles against the N.R.A. codes, and began to assume a more militant and stubborn character;* over one million workers were involved in strikes in 1933. The A. F. of L. and socialist leaders were forced to change their tone, when they sensed the moods of the masses, and came out with public "criticism" of the N.R.A. They adapted their tactics so as to maintain their leadership of the workers and put brakes on the growing strike movement. Nevertheless, in spite of the most desperate maneuvers of the Roosevelt government and the A. F. of L. leaders, the first nine months of 1934 have witnessed a stormy advance in the strike movement not only as to numbers (close to two million workers on strike this year and nearly three million since the N.I.R.A.), but *in the political character of these strikes.*

Toledo, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Alabama, Pacific Coast, and the general textile strike are historic milestones in the *transformation* of economic struggles for the most elementary demands into struggles of a political character, and a consequent maturing of a higher level of class consciousness and political understanding of the masses as to the character of the capitalist State.

The industrial centers of America have become huge battlegrounds where *workers have engaged in pitched battles against the bayonets and machine-guns of the troops used against them.* The smallest struggles for economic demands, for the right to organize, and against the company unions, have called forth the most violent measures of repression, with a constantly rising toll of casualties in dead, wounded and injured, but this has only served to arouse the masses to an unexampled fighting spirit, leading to *solidarity actions, sympathy strikes and general strikes against the terror.* The unemployed workers and the unorganized workers fully participate in the struggle in support of the strikers. In a whole series of cities throughout the country, a movement for local general strikes develops over the heads of the reformist leaders, who are able only with the greatest difficulty to prevent them, and in some cases are unable to stop them from breaking out, as in San Francisco and Hazleton, Pennsylvania. Movements for general strikes of an entire industry were temporarily throttled (auto, steel and textile), but in the textile industry the workers finally overrode their leaders, who had sidetracked the struggle in June, and forced the calling of the strike in September. Even when the workers are tricked into arbitration, the reformist leaders are not always able completely to knife the struggle, as could be seen in Minneapolis, where the truck drivers went on strike again after returning to work and seeing how they had been deceived, and *continued a long and stubborn struggle in the face of martial law and military concentration camps.*

The great urge for organization and struggle that is spreading among ever wider masses expresses itself mainly through the channels of the reformist unions. A tardy understanding of this process was responsible for the fact that the Party to a certain extent was caught off its guard, and did not reorientate itself quickly enough to the changing situation. Masses of workers, numbering into hundreds of thousands, flocked into the A. F. of L. unions. These fresh forces, coming mainly from the semi-skilled and unskilled sections of the basic industries, entered the unions because they saw in them the organs through which they could improve their conditions. The lower trade union organizations began to be transformed into militant fighting organs, and many sections of the local trade union leadership came from among the new elements that displayed this determination to struggle. The A. F. of L. leadership, which had formerly followed a "no strike" policy in agreement with the Hoover government during the first months of the crisis, were forced to modify their tactics during 1933 and 1934. They proceeded to organize the unorganized workers; they modified their traditional craft policy so as to be able to organize the mass production industries, such as auto, rubber, etc., through the Federal locals on an industrial basis; they even organized mass strikes, when they could no longer succeed in preventing or side-tracking them, in order not to lose the leadership of these workers.

As the mass discontent grows, the trade union bureaucracy does not even hesitate to use "socialist" phraseology about "taking over the industries", adapting their demagogy to the new situation and the moods of the masses; certainly the use of such phrases by the trade union bureaucrats, who, in the whole historical development of the American labor movement, had proceeded along the traditional Gompers path of class collaboration, is an indication that some tremendous changes are taking place in the ranks of the American working class. It is unquestionable that under the present-day conditions in the United States the slogan of "taking over the industries" will be utilized and is already being utilized by the reformists in one or another form for the continuation of their old policy of "peace in industry" and class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The discontent and radicalization of the workers are further indicated in the strong movement for industrial unionism in the ranks of the A. F. of L. workers. It is clear that what we are witnessing is the emergence of an organized working class seeking to develop independent action, groping about as yet for political expression, but nevertheless a movement which in this period can very rapidly attain political consciousnes, and which is potentially a powerful revolutionary force. This deep-going transformation of the masses places sharply before the Party the necessity of understanding clearly the changing relationships in the class forces and adapting its tactics in such a way as to bind itself to the organized working class movement and direct this upsurge to the path of revolutionary struggle.

The Party did not see quickly enough the increased utilization by the bourgeoisie of the social-reformists in order to head off the workers' struggles. In the period when the revolutionary unions grew to some extent, the reformist unions grew by leaps and bounds and played an increasingly important role in the strikes and made it necessary for the Party to turn its major attention to building a strong revolutionary opposition inside the A. F. of L. unions.

The Socialist Party also showed certain signs of

increased growth and activity in the industrial centers and in the trade union movement. The sharpened class struggle in America, the events in Germany and Austria, etc., brought about a big Leftward movement among the socialist workers which expressed itself in a growing desire for the united front and a growing opposition to the policy of the socialist leaders. As a result, the Socialist Party leadership was forced to yield to this pressure and make a turn to the "Left", by opening an attack on Roosevelt and the N.R.A. and to adopt resolutions about "mass resistance" and "general strike" against war and fascism.

The Party has placed as its major task the penetration of the reformist trade unions in order to imbue them with a militant class program, and the organization of the united front with the A. F. of L. and socialist workers to resist the capitalist offensive. In the majority of the big strikes of the past year, the Party was not yet in a position to play a decisive role in the leadership of the struggle, but through its activity it was able to raise slogans which were picked up by the masses and translated into action, such as mass picketing, protest actions, and general strike. In the case of the great maritime strike on the Pacific Coast, the Party played a decisive role in the organization and leadership of the struggle of the workers in the reformist unions over the heads of their leaders, and influenced the calling of the general strike in San Francisco. It is no accident, therefore, that the government, with the help of the A. F. of L. leaders, has launched a campaign against the Communists which aims at the eventual suppression of the Party and presages new attacks on the whole working class movement.

The present developments in America are characterized by the growing difficulties of the bourgeoisie in their groping about to find a way out of the crisis, and to stem the mounting tide of the workers' struggles. While the trend toward more speedy fascization is strengthened, the growing inner struggle in the Roosevelt camp on the question of the N.R.A. reflects the tremendous disagreements that exist. The economic situation is getting worse, and production has been continuously declining since May, standing at 72 in July compared to 80 in May, and 90 in July of last year (N. Y. *Annalist* Index of Business Activity).

Unemployment increased sharply in June and July. Steel operations in September were running at about 18 per cent of capacity, almost reaching the low pre-Roosevelt level. The catastrophic drought has reduced this year's grain crops by about 45 per cent, and the possibility of a shortage of foodstuffs, aggravated by the government's cattle-destruction program, has sent food prices soaring. The rise in prices will sharply curtail the purchasing power of the masses. The unexpectedly large expenditures for drought and unemployment relief have placed a severe strain on the budget, which shows an enormous deficit. More inflationary measures are forecast by the recent silver legislation and the currency war between the dollar and the pound. On an international scale, the struggle against British and Japanese imperialist rivals is becoming more intense, as reflected in the struggle for markets, the currency war, the conflict on the German debt question, the dispute over the coming Naval Conference, and the movement of the American naval fleet to the Pacific Ocean.

These increasing difficulties, coupled with the rising strike movement amongst the workers, the growing discontent amongst the farmers and city petty bourgeoisie, as revealed in the Darrow report criticizing the "monopolistic practices" of the N.R.A. codes, are creating more and more discord in the circles of the ruling class as to the future course. This brought about *the reorganization of the N.R.A., having two aims—to strengthen the position of the trusts, while at the same time adopting demagogic maneuvers to pacify the discontent of the workers and of the petty bourgeoisie.*

The process of fascization has not been going fast enough to suit the leading circles of the bourgeoisie. More and more voices are being raised in the most reactionary circles to speed up the process of fascization. These circles see the dangers of the social demagogy of Roosevelt, and that the forces of struggle unloosed among the masses cannot always be controlled even by the N.R.A. arbitration boards and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. They demand a "stronger hand" against the "abuse of power" by the trade unions; they want the still greater strengthening of company unions and direct wage-cuts. They warn against the "Left experiments" of the Roosevelt regime. The formation of the American Liberty League, consisting of prominent Democratic and Republican leaders closely associated with Wall Street circles, under the high-sounding slogan "To combat radicalism, preserve the rights of property, and uphold the Constitution", is the latest expression of this tendency.

In order to satisfy the growing appetites of the trusts, the reorganization of the N.R.A. will make the Code Authorities "self-governing" units where the big trusts will have full sway without any restrictions to hamper them. The dictatorship of finance capital is strengthened by the limitation of competitive methods, closer welding together of private banking with the government apparatus, that is being carried on under the slogan of "control and coordination of industry".

The policy which Roosevelt is carrying out is accompanied by an increase in his demagogy, and by the conscious strengthening of the hand of the re-

formist trade union leaders in order to help the bourgeoisie in its offensive against the working class, and to stifle the mass movement against this offensive. It is on this question that he mainly differs with his opponents, who want to carry through a more open fascist program without the help of the reformist trade union leaders, but rather rely upon the company unions and a direct offensive in the form of sweeping wage-cuts. These disagreements are an indication of the network of contradictions in which the bourgeoisie finds itself entangled. Roosevelt and some of his co-workers are utilizing the most demagogic maneuvers to placate the aroused workers and the discontened petty bourgeoisie. He embraces the petty-bourgeois third party of LaFollette in Wisconsin. He comes out in favor of "social security" legislation. He makes new concessions to the A. F. of L. leaders on questions of company unions, and on the reduction of hours.

The resignation of General Johnson, the head of the N.R.A., is very significant. Johnson's removal came at a time when he had already outlived his usefulness in "putting over" the N.R.A. in its earlier stages, and was becoming an obstacle to the further strengthening of the position of monopoly capital through "self-government" in the Code Authorities. At the same time, Roosevelt found it useful to remove him from the scene because he had seriously compromised himself and the N.R.A. in the eyes of the workers by his open strike-breaking outbursts, and this interfered with the demagogic maneuvers which were designed to bolster up the fast disappearing illusions of the workers in the N.R.A. and to utilize the A. F. of L. trade union leadership to act as a brake on the militant upsurge of the masses. This is borne out by the fact that what the capitalist press described as the "Lefts" in the Roosevelt camp (Richberg, Ickes, Perkins and Hopkins) are placed at the head of the legislative branch of the reorganized N.R.A. to direct its general policies. What the capitalist press hails as "a move to the Left" is actually the attempt of the Roosevelt regime to avoid losing its mass base of support among the workers and petty bourgeoisie, while actually strengthening the position of trustified capital and the trend toward fascism. Although the Roosevelt regime is having great difficulties, one must not overlook the fact that it has not yet exhausted all the possibilities of maneuvering in order to maintain its mass base of support, although those possibilities are becoming ever narrower.

The differences, however, in the camp of the bourgeoisie do not change the fact that the process of fascization is hastening. One of the major factors which is undermining every effort of the ruling class to solve the crisis in its own way, is the powerful revolutionary upsurge.

The American proletariat, which, due to the peculiar social economic development of the U.S., was politically very backward in comparison with the European proletariat, is in the present developing mass strike struggles and beginning to come forward as a class, becoming conscious of its class interests, is awakening to independent political life.

For the first time now in many years have we such a big development of the strike movement. It is new for the U.S. that millions of workers entered the struggle against the policy of the government, as expressed in the Roosevelt codes, and by this the economic struggles of the broad masses are assuming a political character.

It is new for the U.S. that workers in such unprecedented numbers should utilize the weapon of solidarity strikes and general strikes and that the strikes are supported by the unemployed, by the petty bourgeoisie and in some places by the farmers.

Such a large mass urge of unorganized workers towards organization and struggle against company unions is new for the U.S.

> "The rising wave and sharpening character of the social struggles, arising on economic issues from the heroic effort of the masses to defend their standard of living, are developing more and more to a conscious struggle against capitalism." (Resolution, Eighth Convention C.P.U.S.A.)

All this shows that we are facing in the United States a revolutionary upsurge.

Great tasks stand before the Communist Party at the present time. This enormous accumulation of revolutionary energy of the working class makes it necessary that the Party shall bind itself still more closely to the great mass movements sweeping the country, shall improve the character of its mass work, shall overcome with all possible speed its weaknesses and shortcomings in penetrating the reformist unions, strengthening the revolutionary trade union movement, building the Party into a mass Party, in order that it can play a decisive role in the strike struggles in America, and raise these struggles to a still higher political level. The danger of fascism arising out of the whole objective situation places before the Party the all-important task of organizing the united front of the toiling masses, on the economic and political field, for the defense of the economic interests of the workers and poor farmers, for the defense of the democratic rights of the masses and their organizations, primarily the trade unions, and for the struggle against fascism and war. This is the *main link* in the strategy and tactics of the Party at the present time, in the process of winning over the working class and its allies to the path of revolutionary struggle.

In preparation for the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the editors will publish discussion articles and materials connected with the questions on the agenda of the Congress.—EDITORIAL BOARD.

PROBLEMS OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE WORKING CLASS

By SINANI

THE colossal worsening of the position of the working class in capitalist countries which took place during the years of the world economic crisis is not a temporary conjunctural phenomenon characteristic only of the period of the deepening of the crisis. The passing over to a depression of a special kind was only possible for the bourgeoisie by further lowering the standard of living of the proletariat at whose expense the bourgeoisie succeeded somewhat in relieving the position of industry. The absence of sufficient economic and political prerequisites for a new rise and increase in production, inevitable downward trends and the growing zig-zag development, the unevenness of the situation in the major countries, the absence of all perspectives for the revival of partial capitalist stabilization and the preparations of the bourgeoisie for a new imperialist and an anti-Soviet war *are far from creating the necessary conditions for even a temporary improvement in the position of the proletariat,* but, on the contrary, stimulate the further development of the offensive of the bourgeoisie on the living standards of the proletariat. This offensive is more and more energetically supported by the entire apparatus of State violence.

The general crisis of capitalism is very closely bound up with the growing exploitation of the proletariat.

The considerable worsening of the situation of the proletariat, the *new lowered standard of living* is *characteristic* of the further deepening and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism. These are indications and at the same time one of the most important driving forces in the growing decay of the entire capitalist system.

The lowering of the standard of living of the working class, a maximum liquidation of even those small achievements won by the working class in the hard fought class battles of the first round of revolutions and wars, became a necessary condition for the revival of the temporary stabilization of capitalism. The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in 1926 has stated that "the starting point of the stabilization policy of the bourgeoisie is the direct attack on the working class, the increase in the working day . . . the lowering of wages, and increase in taxes". (*Thesis on the International Situation.*) The Sixth Congress of the Communist International emphasized that the growth of technique and organization in capitalist industry, *i.e.,* the growth of the productive forces in the period of partial and relative capitalist stabilization "helped in establishing a chronic mass unemployment in the leading capitalist countries" which "is many times larger than the industrial reserve army of the pre-war period and cannot be fully absorbed even in periods of high levels of economic conditions". The Congress also emphasized that rationalization is "connected with maximum intensification of labor, fatal speed-up, terrific exploitation of labor power". Proof of the worsening of the position of the working class can be found not only in general facts concerning the growing exhaustion of labor power as a result of capitalist rationalization and the lengthening of the working day and not only in the loss of political rights formerly won by the workers, but also in the statistical data on unemployment and real wages.

Unemployment, which in pre-war years was more or less stagnant upon a level of 4 to 5 per cent of the working class, differing, of course, in various phases of the capitalist cycle and uneven in all countries, has grown in the years of partial stabilization to 11-12 per cent (see, for example, Comrade Zagorsky's article in the symposium *The General Crisis of Capitalism.* Part I, published by the Institute of World Economy and World Politics). With such unemployment even the maintenance of the former level of real wages by the employed workers would signify a considerable impoverishment of the working class as a whole. However, the real wages dur-

ing the years of stabilization in a number of countries actually continued to fall. Thus, for example, in Germany the index of average real wages (which takes into account unemployment) went up somewhat in the first years of stabilization, but already in 1929 it fell to 2.5 per cent below the 1913-1914 level (according to data by Kuchinsky). While not giving a picture of the position of the various strata of the proletariat, the average index reflects however in this case the changes in the working class as a whole. However, even more detailed data point to the fact that the basic mass of workers were receiving wages lower than the living minimum, and this is true of the majority of German industries. In Great Britain, even according to the prejudiced data of the Balfour Committee (*Survey of Industrial Relations*), the nominal wages in 1924 compared to 1914 were 4 or 5 per cent below the rise in the cost of living. The official data on the growth of wages in the last years of stabilization was challenged by the opposition of the commission which recorded in particular the undoubted fall in wages in the coal, machine-building, textile and other industries. In the United States, according to data of the American Federation of Labor (*Wages in Manufacturing Industries*), the real wages in 1927 were 18.2 per cent above the 1914 level, but as far back as 1925 there began a fall in wages. According to the data of Kuchinsky the average wages in the United States for 1922-1933 were only 7 per cent above the 1908-1914 level which certainly does not compensate the rapid growth of intensification of labor. Finally, during these years there began the process of decrease in the number of skilled workers whose places were taken by semi-skilled workers, women and juveniles.

But if partial stabilization was a period of undoubted worsening of the position of the working class as a whole, it was at the same time for individual sections of the proletariat—for the greater part of the labor aristocracy, for certain groups of highly skilled workers, for individual branches of industry and finally for a very considerable section of the workers of individual countries (U.S.A., France)—connected with a certain growth of wages, especially in comparison with the years of the war and of the post-war economic crisis. The stabilization of the currency meant a certain raise in wages in comparison to the years of inflation (for example Germany). Unemployment, which grew considerably since the war and became chronic, was nevertheless reduced somewhat in comparison to the immediate post-war years as a result of the development of production chiefly in those countries the bourgeoisie of which gained considerable profits from the war (U.S.A. and France, the latter of which was even compelled to import labor power for the expansion of its industry). Of course the improvement of the position of individual sections and groups of the working class does not serve to deny the impoverishment of the proletariat as a whole. The unevenness of capitalist development finds its expression in the unevenness of the development of the process of the impoverishment of the working class.

Nevertheless, these peculiarities in the changes which have taken place in the position of individual groups and sections of the working class, in the transition to partial stabilization of capitalism, and especially during the first years of this stabilization were undoubtedly of the utmost political significance. Objectively, as a result of the growing exploitation of the working class as a whole, the intensity of contradictions between labor and capital undoubtedly increased, but at the same time certain improvements in the material position of considerable broad groups of the working class in comparison to the years of war and inflation, and particularly the high level of "real" wages in the U.S.A. and France, created (especially under conditions of strengthening political positions of the bourgeoisie) a kind of illusion about the possibility of serious improvements of the workers' conditions under capitalism. This also helped to bring about the temporary strengthening of reformist influence within the working class and temporarily strengthened the position of social-democracy.

The development of contradictions of partial stabilization inevitably led to the broadening of the pressure of the bourgeoisie upon the proletariat, and to the further worsening of the economic and political position of the workers (real wages in Italy in 1927 were 15 per cent and in 1929 35 per cent below the pre-war level). This worsening of the position of the workers led to a growth of mass struggles, to a slow, although a very uneven (in various countries and among various groups of workers) awakening of reformist illusions.

The world economic crisis, the end of capitalist stabilization, the depression of a special kind, have led to *a new turning point in the position of the working class, impoverishment of the working class unprecedented in the history of capitalism, a new and considerably lower level of its existence.*

Unemployment in 1932, in the year of the sharpest fall in production, involved almost half of the working class and in the transition to depression we see no great improvement.

> About 22-25 million proletarians are still without work. World unemployment is 2.5 to 3 times higher than before the crisis. In Germany, Great Britain, Poland, Italy it is three times higher, in the U.S.A. twice as high and in France almost 40 times higher than at the beginning of the economic crisis. Even according to official government

> statistics, unemployment in Italy has grown, and in France, Poland and Austria has remained almost stable after the transition to the depression. In Germany over one third of the proletariat remain unemployed. *

The extension of production in the chief capitalist countries is outstripping the reduction in unemployment, which emphasizes the chronic structural character of unemployment. In some countries and industries, unemployment is still growing even though the crisis has passed into a mere depression.

Though the number of completely unemployed has dropped by almost 8,000,000 during the last two years, *i.e.*, since the lowest point of the economic crisis, simultaneously the number of part-time workers, *i.e.*, partly unemployed, has considerably increased. The bourgeoisie take advantage of "part-time work" so as to reduce the amount of relief given to the unemployed and for the increasing of the intensity of labor, so as to reduce at least somewhat the tenseness of the political situation caused by the existence of the armies of the millions of unemployed.

Unemployment is falling, but part-time work is spreading to almost the entire working class. Work is becoming a privilege:

> In Germany partial unemployment remains invisible, concealed by fascist statistics but appearing in the figures on the reduction of working time. In France, according to the official figures, about 40 per cent of the workers are working part-time. In Japan, according to the statements of Japanese comrades, the majority of the people working in factories consist of the so-called "temporary workers", *i.e.*, workers taken on for short periods, usually through the intermediary of the foremen.

This "depression of a special type" is not leading to a new period of prosperity in industry. At the same time the tremendous intensification of labor is leaving outside of industry millions of workers, who only recently were needed. In the U.S.A. alone, intensification is taking the place of the work of 1,200,000 workers, who would not be able to find work even in the hypothetical case that industry rose to the same level as it was before the crisis. Millions and tens of millions of workers are becoming "surplus" workers for capitalism and are doomed to all the horrors of many years of permanent unemployment, poverty and hunger.

The inevitable variations and sudden changes in the economic situation will also bring about inevitable sporadic increases in unemployment. Events have shown that during this depression of a special type a certain improvement of industry in some countries will be accompanied by a reduction of output in other countries. (For example, while there was an increase in output in Great Britain in 1934 it took place at a time of a tenser situation in the U.S.A. and especially in Germany.)

At the present time there are *no economic prerequisites for any considerable alleviation of unemployment.*

The chronic army of the unemployed, which has replaced the former reserve army of labor which was almost completely absorbed during boom periods, has increased by 2.5 times in comparison with pre-crisis times, *i.e.*, it forms over one quarter of the total number of industrial workers. The relative over-population which forms "the background on which the law of supply and demand of labor moves" (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I), *i.e.*, the level of wages, has greatly increased. As the "condition of existence for capitalist industry" (Marx), this relative over-population, this surplus of "free", unwanted, superfluous labor power drags down the level of wages and in proportion to its growth becomes an ever more powerful factor threatening the capitalist system with political disruption.

Real wages were lowered during the crisis to such a degree that they could scarcely provide for the most urgent needs of the majority of the employed workers.

In U.S.A. and Japan, they fell by more than one-half, in Poland, by 40 per cent, in Germany the average earnings comprised in all 66 per cent of the official minimum cost of living, etc.

The transition to a depression has not put a stop to the fall of wages. In the years of the crisis wages fell chiefly as the result of the direct reduction of nominal rates, but on passing into the depression, the bourgeoisie made a wider practice of indirect methods. As a rule, a certain growth of nominal wages, in places where it takes place owing to the growing struggle of the proletariat, is nevertheless lagging considerably behind the general rise in the cost of living and especially the increased prices on food stuffs (monopolist speculation on the drought). This rise in the cost of living, which takes place as the result of general economic processes as the crisis passes into a depression, especially in view of the domination of huge capitalist monopolies on the market, strikes all the harder at those groups of workers who have not yet been able to secure an increase in nominal wages.

The competition for greater devaluation which took place between the dollar and the pound in 1933 was above all and fundamentally a struggle between the American and British bourgeoisie as to who could

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* This data, as well as that given below in small type, is based upon the materials of the Institute of World Economy and World Politics and on articles and tables published in the journal *World Economic Conditions*, No. 51.

most worsen the situation of "their" working class by means of inflation. Japan took this path of reducing the wages of the workers by means of "cheap money" right at the beginning of the crisis. Inflation together with the rise in the prices of common necessities is becoming ever more widespread as a means of attack by the bourgeoisie on the standard of living of the working class.

At the same time, the bourgeoisie have no intention of giving up the direct attack on wages, and, moreover, these attacks have the support of all the power of the capitalist State: in Italy, the recent statement of Mussolini that a 10 per cent cut was "inevitable"; in Germany, the law of January 10, 1934, confirmed again the establishment of a compulsory revision and lowering of the wage scales; in France, the economy program of Doumergue, providing for considerable wage-cuts and the reduction in the salaries of employees, in the U.S.A., the law on industrial reconstruction established a minimum wage in various industries, but this minimum, however, becomes the maximum, etc.

The bourgeoisie are everywhere carrying on a particularly fierce attack on the wages of the nationally oppressed workers (Negroes in U.S.A., Koreans in Japan) and on immigrant workers, *e.g.*, Poles and Italians in France. The reduction in the wages of the latter and then the actual deportation of two million Italian workers from France under various pretexts was a means in the hands of the French bourgeoisie to reduce the wages of the French workers although it was a smaller reduction than in other countries. The U.S.A. used a similar method, deporting over 500,000 Mexican workers into Mexico.

The world economic crisis, which led to a great weakening of world economic ties, at the same time intensified the struggle of the imperialist powers and of the capitalist monopolies for markets of export.

In this way was intensified the *tendency to equalize the wages in the various countries and industries on the lowest level!* In the struggle for markets, for extending exports on the basis of dumping prices, the capitalist organizations are trying to reduce the expenditure of wages, they are trying to reduce wages to a level permitting a successful competition on the market. The tendency to equalize wages thus acts with ever increasing force in the direction of equalizing them with the lowest existing level. The standard of living of the European and American workers is being reduced more and more to the level of the Chinese coolies or the Japanese textile workers, hardly providing for a life of semi-starvation.

The standard of living of the proletariat in the leading capitalist countries has fallen much lower than the minimum cost of living which had historically been settled in these countries. The statement of Marx that minimum wages "being different in the various countries . . . have their own historic movement and will fall lower and lower to the absolute lowest level" receives full confirmation.

The tremendous intensification of labor during the world economic crisis and at the time when it is passing into a depression forms the principal feature of capitalist rationalization. Whereas during stabilization, rationalization developed on the basis of the rapid growth of technique and increased capital investments, during the crisis and depression, new technical improvements were reduced to a minimum. The surplus of fixed capital in the main branches of industry almost closed the road to big capital investments for its renewal (apart from the war industry and the recent slight increase in the replacement of worn out equipment and machines). It was precisely this, along with the absence of an outlook for a real upsurge and the widening of production, which formed the economic basis for the most varied measures on the part of the bourgeoisie to bring about an unparalleled intensification of labor without any considerable increase in the quantity of technical appliances in use.

> The intensification of labor is achieved mainly by increasing the speed of the machines and conveyors (or by their introduction) and an increase in the number of machines to be attended by the workers. The speed of the conveyor at Citroen's works in France almost doubled between 1931 and 1933. The number of machines worked on by a weaver in Japan during crisis years increased by 30 per cent.

As the result of intensification, the output per worker in a number of countries and branches of industry greatly increased, while the share of wages in the production cost of the article fell accordingly.

> Thus, the production per worker increased during the crisis in the U.S.A. (from 1929 to 1933) by 25 per cent, in the coal industry in France by 30 per cent, on the railways in Italy by 40 per cent, among the cotton workers by more than 100 per cent, in rayon production even by 250 per cent. The number of workers in the steel industry in the U.S.A. in 1933 increased by 10 per cent while the output of steel increased by 28 per cent, etc.

This crisis intensification, leading to the great exhaustion of the workers owing to the enormous expenditure of nervous and muscular energy, is frequently accompanied by a *reduction in working hours* (length of day or number of working days per week) in order to ensure that the maximum amount of labor possible will be squeezed out of the workers.

This reduction in hours thus becomes an indication not of an improvement, but of a worsening of

the position of the workers (either intensification or partial unemployment or both).

Though the increase of unemployment has converted regular work into a privilege, in turn the reduction of wages and the increased exploitation of the workers on the basis of the intensification of labor have converted the factory into a frightful "sausage machine" which in the course of a few years "consumes" the entire life energy of the worker.

But while reducing the working time of one group of workers for the purpose of increasing their exploitation, the bourgeoisie are lengthening the working day of others for the same reason.

For example, in Poland the 8-hour day has been formally abolished and the "English" week introduced; in Italy, a number of legislative provisos have been made as to cases of violation of the 8-hour day, which is becoming a rule; in France, in addition to the growth of partial unemployment there is a lengthening of the working day in small establishments, especially semi-handicraft factories. In all countries a considerable lengthening of the working day is being carried out for the agricultural workers, etc.

The situation of the *agricultural workers* is deteriorating in all countries more rapidly and to a greater extent than that of the industrial workers. Even during the partial stabilization of capitalism, the world agrarian crisis bought about the progressive ruin of the peasants and a growth of "agrarian over-population", which put pressure on the level of wages of the agricultural workers. The development of the world economic crisis deepened and intensified the agrarian crisis, led to enormous unemployment in agriculture, to a fall in the wages of farm laborers literally to just a crust of bread, to the lengthening of their working day and the intensification of hand labor. At the same time pre-capitalist methods took on an ever-increasing importance in the exploitation of the agricultural workers in proportion as the agrarian crisis became more intense.

> Even in the U.S.A., there is an increase in the portion of the wages of farm laborers which is paid in kind, an increase in the personal dependence on the employer. It is being made compulsory to purchase all necessaries in the stores of the employer. Dependence as the result of debt is increasing, taking on the nature of peonage, (*i.e.*, debt slavery).

In respect to the Negro agricultural workers, particularly in the South of the U.S.A., this extension of pre-capitalist methods of exploitation borders directly and openly on the restoration of slavery.

The enormous army of industrial workers, the continuing ruin of the poor and middle peasants, accelerated by the drought of 1934 and the domination of capitalist monopoly over agriculture which increased during the years of crisis and depression, will continue in the future to weigh down on the level of life of the agricultural workers, driving them to extend and intensify the class struggle.

The situation of the proletariat in the colonies and the semi-colonies, who are under the yoke of the double exploitation of imperialism and their own "national" bourgeoisie, fell during the world economic crisis actually below the starvation level of existence. The wages of colonial workers are only sufficient to allow of a gradual death of starvation and exhaustion. The price of his labor power is so much lower than its real value that it is insufficient even for a starvation existence.

As the imperialist bourgeoisie transferred a considerable portion of the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the toiling masses of the colonies, and as, in view of their domination in the capitalist world, they will continue in the future to do so, the proletariat in the colonies and semi-colonies have no better perspective under present conditions, *i.e.*, under the rule of capitalism, giving them prospects for a real improvement in their situation (which does not, of course, exclude various variations in the level of wages of various groups of workers).

The progressive worsening of the material conditions of the working class, the increase in the exploitation of the workers, though unequal in the various countries, in the various branches of industry and among the various categories of workers, are nevertheless *world wide.* Possible improvements in the situation of the various groups of workers as the result of various class battles or owing to various changes in the economic situation cannot be of a prolonged character under the present conditions and cannot hinder the accelerating process of the relative and absolute impoverishment of the proletariat.

* * *

But the deterioration in the situation of the proletariat is by no means limited to a lowering of the material level of the standard of living. With the aim of crushing the resistance of the working class, with the aim of creating the best conditions for reducing wages, for increasing the intensification of labor, etc., with the aim of guaranteeing their further profits, the bourgeoisie are making every effort to take away the *social and political rights of the proletariat.*

An outstanding peculiarity of the offensive of the bourgeoisie which is developing and ever increasing, is the *growing role of the government,* not only for politically crushing the working class, but also for *directly lowering the standard of living of the work-*

ers. The bourgeois State is ever more openly and directly subordinating itself to the dictatorship of the big monopolist organizations of finance capital, and in all capitalist countries is more and more becoming the direct organizer of wage-cuts (Germany, U.S.A., Italy, etc.), cutting unemployment relief, worsening labor conditions, etc. The despotism of the employers in the factories (Germany, U.S.A., etc.) is indissolubly connected with depriving the workers of their rights in all bourgeois States.

In all capitalist countries a *great reduction of all the social gains of the proletariat,* torn from the bourgeoisie in the course of decades of class struggle, is taking place, while in a number of countries they are *even being completely abolished.*

In all countries social insurance is being changed in such a way that the donations towards this insurance by the workers are increased while those of the employers are decreased. The number of persons entitled to relief and pensions is being cut down and the actual relief payments are being diminished (*e.g.,* law of December 7, 1933 in Germany; January 1, 1934 in Poland; the Means Test and Economy Act in Great Britain, etc.).

The protection of labor actually exists only on paper, or is interpreted mainly in the interests of the employers and does not greatly hinder the introduction of any deterioration in the conditions of labor and still less does it hinder the intensification of labor to the point of the complete exhaustion of the worker.

In a number of countries wage scales are being compulsorily revised with a view to reducing them (Germany, Italy, the so-called "codes" in the U.S.A., etc.). The right to the free organization of trade unions in a number of countries remains in practice only for the reformist unions (Poland, Balkan countries) or is completely abolished, and in place of it the workers are compelled to join fascist unions (Italy, Germany).* In places where revolutionary unions exist, they are always subjected to police raids and persecutions.

The right to strike is ever more frequently being limited (prohibition of strikes of government employees and workers in "public utility enterprises") or is being completely abolished (U.S.A., France and other "democratic" countries). This does not prevent the police and armed gangsters of capital organizing bloody attacks on the strikers, beating them up and shooting them.

Forced labor which is almost unpaid is becoming ever more widely spread in various forms.

In Germany, universal obligatory labor has been introduced, resulting in the almost colonial cheapness of labor, and is a source of super profits for monopolist capital, giving almost unpaid-for labor power for war preparations. In the U.S.A., the "public works" on which the unemployed are forcibly engaged, are reviving the system of slave relations. In Japan the dependence of the working women, as a result of indebtedness arising on the basis of the rule of feudalism in agriculture, is passing into a semi-slave position of the entire working class.

The restoration and extension of forced labor, pre-capitalist forms of labor, the transition of colonial methods of exploitation of labor power into the imperialist dominating countries plainly demonstrate the growing decay of the capitalist system.

The revolutionary workers' organizations, and, above all, the Communist Parties, are everywhere subjected to various forms of repression and are more and more frequently being completely suppressed.

For the purpose of crushing the *growing resistance of the proletariat* to the lowering of their standing of living and to prevent the development of the struggle for improving their conditions (strikes, unemployed movement, demonstrations, armed uprisings, etc.), the bourgeoisie is more and more using increased reaction and political oppression, ever more restricting democratic liberties, ever more strengthening the government apparatus of violence.

Finally, together with the growth of the revolutionization of the proletariat, together with the ever more rapid extensive conversion of their economic struggle into a political struggle, together with the maturing of the revolutionary crisis and the growing menace of the proletarian revolution, which is taking place at increasing speed though unevenly in various countries, the bourgeoisie are passing more and more and in various forms to the open fascist suppression of the working class, the direct smashing of all its class organizations, the physical destruction of its vanguard. In the form of fascism the bourgeoisie are ever more frequently passing from the political suppression of the proletariat, under the conditions of more or less extensive "democratic liberties", to the open seizure of the initiative in the civil war against the proletariat.

* * *

Changes in the economies and in the structure of capitalism as the general crisis becomes more intense, and the changes in the situation of the working class, are leading also to a number of basic changes in the very structure of the proletariat.

The relationship between the workers and the unemployed in the process of the development of the

* Polish fascism is taking the same line, trying to carry through a law on the "unification" of the unions, around which a sharp class struggle will undoubtedly be waged.

general crisis is being more and more *changed in the direction of a considerable increase in the relative importance of the unemployed.* The problem of unemployment is no longer a phenomenon of a cyclical crisis and is becoming a constant and threatening problem of the general crisis of capitalism. Under capitalism, relative over-population is growing and leading to sufferings and poverty for ever new millions of workers, while the technical and economic possibilities are increasing for a tremendously rapid development of the productive forces, which is being hindered by capitalism and which has long since matured for socialism.

Capitalism, which is decaying more and more, which is weakened by the end of partial stabilization and the world economic crisis, not only hinders and limits the development of productive forces in order to maintain its own existence, but also requires their partial destruction (and also part of the products which have been produced and accumulated). The continued technical development, the tremendous growth of new productive possibilities formed by the new scientific discoveries and technical inventions and improvements (for instance in the sphere of chemistry and the chemical industry) can no longer be carried out on a large scale under capitalism. The bourgeoisie are destroying the basic productive force—the working class—on an ever larger scale. The relative over-population, as a condition for the very existence of capitalist society, is also becoming the source of its approaching destruction. From the condition for the creation of ever new cadres of the proletariat, from a "regulator" of the steady lowering of the standard of living of the workers, it is becoming a heavy load attached to the feet of the bourgeoisie. *Only socialism, as already shown in practice by the development in the U.S.S.R.,* which started out the construction of socialism from an incomparably lower economic and technical level than that already reached by the imperialist countries, not only knows nothing of the problems of over-population, but even at the first stage of its existence *abolished unemployment and reduced the working day to seven hours* (and to six hours in heavy harmful industries) *while simultaneously improving the standard of living of the whole proletariat.*

The bourgeoisie are trying to utilize unemployment not only economically, in order to put pressure on the wages of the employed, but also politically in order to bring about a certain weakening of the working class movement. They take advantage of the desperation of the unemployed so that they can increase their influence among some strata of the working class by means of anti-capitalist demagogy. Fascism in Germany has temporarily obtained a certain influence on *part* of the working class, especially from among the unemployed, exploiting their discontent in the interests of the big monopolist bourgeoisie and for recruiting members for the storm detachments from among them.

The tremendous chronic unemployment in capitalist countries leads to the unemployed being somewhat split away from the employed workers, and when the work of the Communists is weak, it tends to scatter and disunite their struggle.

But, while creating a number of difficulties for the work of the Communist Parties, the hopelessness of many years of unemployment, the impossibility of making any great alleviation under capitalism, increase the objective contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie, give greater political significance to the movement of the proletariat, drive the unemployed again and again to becoming disillusioned with fascist demagogy in those places where this was temporarily successful, drive them into the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and its rule, *i.e.,* again and again create and strengthen the conditions for the fighting revolutionary unity of the whole of the working class, which, however, can only be utilized when developing the most energetic work of the Communist Party.

The share of the youth among the working class has increased and will continue to increase in future years. It is growing not only as the result of the replacement of the labor of adults by the cheaper labor of youngsters (in Germany the reverse is taking place at the present time—the youth are being squeezed out of industry), but also because the first post-war generation is coming into the labor market precisely at the present time. During the economic crisis, the natural increase among the adult part of the proletariat was comparatively small owing to the fact of the smaller number of youth who had been born during the years of reduced birth rate, during the imperialist war, who were growing up in 1930-33. Nevertheless, at the present time in particular, in the years of the depression, much more extensive cadres of workers are growing up. The tremendous worsening in the situation of the youth and the growth in their political activity which are taking place simultaneously *raise their role in the class struggle of the proletariat,* both in its economic and political struggles.

In the conditions of mass unemployment and increased intensification of labor, in view of the starvation level of the wages, the youth who are growing up are deprived on a mass scale of the chance of getting work. To a considerable degree, from the very beginning of their independent life, they become, so to speak, professionally unemployed.

Having no possibility of getting into a factory, the new youth do not pass through the whole of that school of the class struggle through which the

adult generation passed, have no time to receive the firm class steeling in proletarian discipline and solidarity. Hence, *in addition to a high degre of politicization* which arises from the conditions of life of the youth, along with the increased dissatisfaction with capitalist "order" they are marked by *political instability, waverings,* and a much smaller resistance to the nationalist and fake anti-capitalist fascist demagogy than the adult workers. This is the reason why some of the working youth in Germany, filling the ranks of the Storm Troops, proved to be among the most important channels for bringing fascist influence to bear on the working class. Some of the youth came into contact with the class struggle chiefly in the ranks of the unemployed and to some extent also through a distorted mirror in the ranks of the fascist organizations (Germany, Italy, Poland, etc.), and in the labor service camps.

In some countries (particularly Italy, partly Poland) a new generation of workers is growing up which has never known any order except fascism, which has been trained for years in the spirit of fascism. All this cannot fail to hinder the development of the proletarian class consciousness of the youth.

Thus, the new features which have arisen in the situation of the working youth since the end of partial stabilization, while creating the conditions for their rapid political activization, also hinder the fighting unity of the working class and its movement, in placing broad strata of the youth in the form of permanently unemployed against the adult majority of employed workers.

The extreme disillusionment of the youth in the policy of class collaboration conducted by social-democracy, the complete bankruptcy of social-democracy in the struggle against fascism, are leading to the intensification of the crisis of the Socialist Youth International, to an increase of the confusion in the ranks of the Socialist Youth Leagues.

The problem of winning over the youth, who are ever more actively seeking a way out of the unbearably difficult situation in the direction of the revolutionary class struggle, thus takes on enormous importance and special, completely new, specific, features.

The increase in the number of women among the employed workers took place during partial stabilization mainly on the basis of technical improvements making it possible to replace skilled labor by less skilled and cheaper labor. Despite the absence of big technical innovations during the years of the economic crisis, this process of increasing the number of women nevertheless continued on the basis of the reduction that went on in production and the throwing of the more skilled workers out of industry.

> Thus the percentage of women among the employed proletariat in the United States was 26.1 per cent in 1923; it was 28.5 per cent in 1929; it was 30.4 per cent in 1933. In Germany the proportion in 1929 was 23.6 per cent, but in 1932 it was already 26.9 per cent.

Though this process did not stop when the crisis became a depression, it should be noted that the lowering of the standard of living of the proletariat creates conditions in which the reverse may take place—the replacement of cheap labor of women by the equally cheap but more efficient labor of men. This is all the more likely because the increasing intensification of labor requires from the worker ever greater endurance and ability to make short but very intense efforts. This tendency has become clearly marked in Germany,

> Where the proportion of men among the employed workers in 1934 increased along with an absolute growth in the number of men and women; where over 150,000 youth in what was alleged to be a voluntary manner were compelled to "surrender" their places to older workers and where about 200,000 unmarried women were given "marriage grants" after which they were dismissed from the factories. In the given case, fascism, by its measures of government compulsion, hastened the development of the process which had already become noticeable economically.

The economic basis of this tendency is the cheapening of men's labor compared with that of women.

> Thus, while the average weekly wages of women in the U.S.A. in 1929 was 57.7 of average men's wages, in 1933 they had already risen to 66.1 per cent.

The appearance of this tendency still does not refute the fact that on the basis of partial stabilization and on the basis of the economic crisis, the share of women increased to about one-third of all employed workers and in some branches of industry, as in the textile industry, they increased to 60 per cent or more. By widely drawing women into the war industry, the bourgeoisie are now forming workers' cadres for war time.

It is well known that the lower degree of professional and political organization of the women, the lesser schooling and their lesser traditions of the class struggle and the fact that they are more closely bound up with the family and especially with the bringing up of small children, are systematically and regularly utilized by the bourgeoisie to bring about a general deterioration of the situation, not only of the women, but that of the whole working class.

For this very reason the question of women's labor

and the organization of the working women has long since ceased to be a specific "women's question" and has become one of the chief questions of the entire workers' movement. The proportion of women among the employed proletariat, having grown during the years of the economic crisis, has increased the significance of this problem.

The fact that women were being drawn into industry on an ever-increasing scale during recent years made it more difficult for the proletariat to resist the offensive of the bourgeoisie. But while there was an undoubted growth in the fighting powers of the women proletariat during the years of the crisis (*e.g.*, the strike movement of the textile workers in Bulgaria), the increase in their political activity creates new factors for the wider and more profound unity of the working class in the struggle against the economic and political offensive of the bourgeoisie.

In almost all the big countries there has been a considerable increase in the numbers of workers engaged on transport, distribution (trade), home service, etc. *This drop in the share of the workers directly engaged in industry* is one of the outstanding indications of the increasing parasitism and decay of the capitalist system.

Finally, and this is of first political importance, the lowering in the standard of living of the proletariat and the changes in capitalist economics also lead to the *contraction of the strata of highly paid skilled workers and to a deterioration in the position of the aristocracy of labor and to the reduction of its size.* Before the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism the inequality of the absolute impoverishment of the proletariat was expressed, among other things, in the fact that the situation of the highly skilled workers was worsening at a lower rate than the situation of the lesser skilled. The position of the small privileged strata of the aristocracy of labor, this "bourgeoisified" part of the working class, to some extent even greatly improved. In the years of relative capitalist stabilization, in view of the introduction of the conveyor system and automatic machines, there was a certain change in this process. In the place of skilled labor, semi-skilled workers were employed, which caused, first, an increase in unemployment among the skilled workers and, second, an inevitable reduction in the level of their wages. But the general extension of capitalist production in the years of stabilization, by increasing the demand for skilled labor, even though its relative share in industry fell, hindered the deterioration of the situation of the skilled workers. At the same time, at the expense of colonial super-profits provided by the imperialists by plundering the colonies and semi-colonies, there was a continuation of the pampering and bribing of a narrow strata of the aristocracy of labor, as the basis of social-democracy, though this was done on a smaller scale than in pre-war times.

The world economic crisis, leading to a reduction in the total income of the imperialist bourgeoisie and particularly to a reduction in the super-profits flowing in from the colonies, stimulated them to make an offensive against the *entire* working class, to try to reduce the wages of *all* strata of the proletariat, including not only highly skilled workers but even the aristocracy of labor.

There was a considerable increase in the tendency to bring the wages of skilled and unskilled workers to the same level, to reduce the difference between them.

There was a fall in the wages of the skilled workers to a level below that of the pre-crisis wages of unskilled workers.

This resulted in a reduction in the economic bribing of the aristocracy of labor, in the extension of the burdens of the economic crisis onto them also, a worsening in their position and the moving of a large section of them into the ranks of the exploited proletariat.

In the U.S.A. at the lowest point of the crisis unemployment affected one-third of the members of the A. F. of L. unions and half of the metal workers. At the end of the first quarter of 1934 the proportion had fallen to one-quarter of the A. F. of L. and one-third of the metal workers. The operation of the codes in various industries, even on the admissions of the bourgeoisie and the yellow press, brings down the wages of the skilled workers most of all, particularly in the steel industry, the electrical industry and the textile industry. At the end of 1932 the average wages of skilled workers were lower than the wages of unskilled workers in 1930, and the gap between the weekly wages of unskilled workers had fallen in absolute figures by one-half. In 1933, the average wages of skilled workers were $1.10 lower than the wages of women and Negro workers in 1929 (respectively $16.50 and $17.60*). Such was the situation in the United States, in the country of gigantic profits, powerful capitalist trusts and the extensive social bribery of the upper ranks of the proletariat. A similar process is also taking place in other countries. In Germany the proportional significance of the skilled workers in the metal industry between 1925 and 1931 fell from 70 to 50 per cent; the gap between the wages of the skilled and auxiliary workers fell from 38 to 16 per cent; the drop in average wages for all industry during the crisis amounted to one-half for the skilled workers but only one-third for the unskilled. In Italy,

* See article by Amo in the symposium *The Crisis and Impoverishment of the Working Class*, 1934.

when the new collective agreements are made, skilled workers are transferred in masses to lower paid categories. In Great Britain the worst economic position is found in the "old" export branches of industry, which has led to a deterioration of the standard of living of the old aristocracy of labor (while it has simultaneously increased in the new branches—chemistry and aviation—and also in the war industries).

This fall in the wages of the skilled workers is accompanied by the growing intensification of their labor, by such a tremendous draining of their labor power that it cannot be replaced by the smaller amount of the benefits of life which they receive. The price of skilled labor power is steadily decreasing, the exploitation of the skilled workers is steadily growing, and at the same time unemployment among them is increasing. Simultaneously, ever wider strata of the best-provided-for, "bourgeoisified" parts of the working class (the aristocracy of labor) are again being proletarianized and are economically interested in the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie so that they are beginning to waver politically. The attempts of the bourgeoisie, of fascism in particular, to form a new stratum of privileged workers, *e.g*, the privileged position of the fascist workers in the factories in Germany, cannot compensate for the reduction in the stratum of the aristocracy of labor.

The sharp worsening in the position of the skilled workers which at the present time is no longer a phenomenon connected with the state of the market but is structural, creates the economic basis for the weakening of the influence of the social-democracy, for reducing its mass basis, hastens the revolutionizing of the social-democratic workers, makes it easier for the influence of the Communist Parties amongst these workers to grow.

At the same time the reduction of the aristocracy of labor and the worsening of their position will lead to a further intensification of the crisis of social-democracy as they form one of its economic foundations. The readiness of ever wider masses of the social-democratic workers to enter into the struggle against the capitalist offensive, which finds expression in their mass strivings towards unity of action with the Communists, cannot help having an influence also on the political feelings of a considerable section of the aritocracy of labor who have lost their guaranteed privileged positions.

In view of the intensified decay of imperialist capitalism, the monoplist bourgeoisie are economically not only more and more undermining the conditions for their mass influence over the ruined petty-bourgeois masses, but also the social pillars of social-democracy. It is precisely as the result of this, that the bourgeoisie, while not by any means giving up the use of the aristocracy of labor as their social support in the ranks of the working class, are more and more trying to strengthen their political rule, particularly through fascism, by widening their influence among the ruined petty-bourgeois masses, the declassed portions of the working class, the chronically unemployed, and among the youth who have never yet worked in industry and among the backward agricultural workers.

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While dooming the *entire* proletariat to a tremendous lowering of their standard of living, leading to the above-mentioned structural changes in the composition of the working class, the growing decay of imperialism is increasing to an enormous degree the prerequisites for the revolutionary disruption of the entire capitalist system.

The basis for the influence of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class is becoming smaller. Communists can and must take advantage of this in order to win away from social-democracy, from the reformists and the anarchists, the working masses who have been deceived by them, so as to create the fighting unity of the working class against the economic and political offensive of the bourgeoisie, against war and fascism.

The necessity for this wide united front is beginning to be felt more keenly and to be realized by the most varied strata of the proletariat in all the capitalist countries not only under the influence of the lowering of their level of life, but also as a consequence of *the fact that the working class is deprived of social and political rights* by the bourgeoisie. It is, of course, obvious that the conditions giving rise to the strivings of the broad working masses towards unity of action do not yet mean that unity will automatically arise of itself. It is obvious that there must be insistent, energetic and flexible tactics by the Communist Parties in the struggle against unity. *The problem of the tactics of the united front* as the path towards the establishment of the unity of the proletarian vanguard with the broad masses of the working class and their transition to the front of the revolution *takes on exceptional importance* But this question is beyond the limits of the present article.

The menace of fascism is increasing and is general in the capitalist countries. The class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is ever more openly relying on violence. The lack of political rights of the working class reaches its limit under fascism. The slave nature of the pretended free hired labor under capitalism receives its highest expression. Over-ripe monopolist capitalism is no longer able to maintain its rule without resorting to the most genuine medieval barbarism.

But along with the complete deprival of the political rights of the proletariat in countries of the fascist dictatorship and also the steady diminution of these rights in the bourgeois democratic countries that are becoming fascized, the Communist Parties are successfully forging out the wide fighting unity of the working class.

The extension of the struggle of the proletariat against the economic and political offensive of the bourgeoisie, for the improvement of their position, the leading of the broadest masses of the working class up to the point of taking up the counter-offensive, is becoming ever more necessary, urgent and inevitable.

The struggle for the economic demands of the workers is becoming an ever more important method of revolutionizing the proletariat.

The task of widening the struggle of the proletariat, the organization and development of their counter-attack, the task of organizing the wide united front—these are becoming ever more important tasks of the Communist Parties.

The economic and political offensive of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat, while hindering its struggle, nevertheless leads finally to the creation of favorable conditions for the Communist Parties to forge out its revolutionary class unity, for increasing its revolutionary activity, for developing decisive struggles in the second round of revolutions, for the maturing of the necessary prerequisites for the victorious proletarian revolution.

THE QUESTION OF THE MIDDLE STRATA OF THE TOWN POPULATION

By P. REIMANN

THE establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and in a number of other countries, the development of the fascist mass movement in a number of non-fascist countries, and finally the beginning of the crisis of fascism in Germany, raise very sharply the question of the struggle to win over or neutralize the middle strata of the urban population. In the majority of fascist countries the middle strata constitute the widest social basis of fascism, which has been able, by means of unparalleled national and social demagogy, to distract these middle strata and to set them in opposition to the proletariat. Therefore, when carrying on a struggle for the unity of the working class, the Communist Party must at the same time carry on a struggle to win over the middle strata, because this is one of the decisive questions of the anti-fascist struggle.

The idea that has recently come to the forefront again, to the effect that fascism is the dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie, is based on the confusion of the social mass basis of fascist power with the question of its class nature. The danger of this formulation lies not only in its distortion of the question of the class character and the class aims of the fascist dictatorship. To put the question in such a way leads at the same time to an incorrect estimate of the petty bourgeoisie. If it were correct that fascism is the dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie, this would also mean that the petty bourgeoisie are a hostile mass opposed to the proletariat, and that the proletariat should now carry on a struggle not against monopolist capital but against the petty bourgeoisie.

The error in placing the question in such a manner lies in the fact that to the petty bourgeoisie is attributed the ability of playing an independent political role. We shall show later in the conclusions which are drawn that the entire social and political position of the petty bourgeoisie is such that they cannot play an independent political role. The harmful Right opportunist theory about the independent role of the petty bourgeoisie has already done much harm. For example, it showed itself in the incorrect tactics adopted by the C.P. of Poland during the Pilsudski coup, which the Party regarded as an independent movement of the petty bourgeoisie against the dictatorship of finance-capital. The same harmful theory also led to the incorrect position taken up by the C.P. of Czechoslovakia in respect to Massaryk, who was regarded for many years as the representative of a petty-bourgeois policy which was independent of classes, contrasting him to the Right wing of the Czech bourgeoisie, etc.

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Immediately after the war, large sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie in Germany and in other countries to which the revolutionary struggle spread, swung over to the side of the proletariat. The tremendous growth of the power of the revolutionary proletarian movement created a profound impression on the petty-bourgeois masses, who inclined to the view that socialism alone could bring their liberation—a view developed not in the last degree under the direct impression of the world imperialist war. The big successes achieved by the social-democratic

party at the Parliamentary elections during the first few years after the war are to be explained primarily by the fact that the spontaneous movement of the petty-bourgeois masses began to direct itself towards socialism. But as the result of the absence or the weakness of the newly formed Communist Parties, only a small section of these masses found their way to the revolutionary proletariat. The decisive strata of the petty bourgeoisie, however, regarded social-democracy as the standard bearer and leader of the struggle for socialism.

The treacherous policy of social-democracy, and above all the split which it brought into the ranks of the working class, destroyed the first beginnings of an alliance between the proletariat and the toilers of the middle classes. In Germany social-democracy also supported the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in 1923, at the time when the latter entered on the path of ruining hundreds of thousands of members of the middle class, of expropriating the small rentiers, the small handicraft men, etc., by means of inflation. The social-democrats supported capitalist rationalization, while at the same time the progressive concentration of capital in these very years of the relative stabilization of capital accelerated the expropriation of the petty-bourgeois masses. And after the beginning of the world economic crisis, in the course of which the pace at which the middle strata became pauperized and transformed into proletarians increased at an abnormally rapid rate, social-democracy continued to act as the main buttress of the existing capitalist order and the existing forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Had it not been for this policy pursued by social-democracy the national and social demagogy uttered by the fascists would have been impossible nor could it have produced the profound effect it did on the middle strata. The policy pursued by social-democracy discredited Marxism and socialism in the eyes of these middle class elements, inasmuch as they did not understand that in reality such a policy has nothing in common with socialism and Marxism, but is actually hostile to them. As for the Communist Parties, they were still not strong enough to explain to the petty-bourgeois masses the fundamental contradiction in principle between the "Marxism" of social-democracy and real revolutionary Marxism.

Social-democracy is trying to put a foundation under this policy which drove a wedge between the revolutionary proletariat and the broad strata of the middle classes and does so in a way which is slanderous even from the point of view of the middle classes themselves. In this respect, the theories recently developed by Fritz Marbach, one of the leaders of the Swiss reformist trade unions, in his book *The Trade Union, the Middle Class and the Fronts,* are particularly subtle and characteristic. He takes as his starting point the process of the proletarization of the middle classes. He specially emphasizes that a stratum like the office workers are proletarians according to their economic situation. But he immediately explains that they cannot be counted as proletarians because their ideology is a different one!

> "The proletarization of the office workers takes place under entirely different ideological accompanying circumstances than the dogmatic commentators of the philosophy of impoverishment imagined. These politicians have always considered that the proletarization of the middle masses of the population will result in widening the sphere of influence of the ideology of the industrial proletariat. Reality, however, has now shown that tens of thousands of people are undoubtedly becoming proletarians in material respects, but that the majority of these actual proletarians very stubbornly refuse to accept the militant ideology of the proletariat. However, these unfortunate twofold people could be won over to the struggle for social justice in the spirit of social-democracy (the democratic national community of all the toilers). Therefore, the industrial workers are also interested in the office workers not having an ideology forced on them which they have not been able to understand throughout their lives (*e.g.*, employees of non-proletarian origin) or which it was their aim to avoid from the time when they first thought in general about their aim in life". (Marbach, pp. 36-37—re-translated.—Ed).

From this basic theses, Marbach draws the following conclusions:

> "The working class is perfectly just in demanding that the office workers should acquaint themselves with its material postulates and should support them (*e.g.*, in the community of labor), but it does well to make concessions in the ideological sphere."

Such is the fundamental line of thought followed by Marbach. His ideas amount approximately to the following: It is impossible to win over the middle classes to the proletarian class struggle because they take a negative and hostile attitude towards "proletarian ideology" (Marxism). As far as Marbach is concerned, Marxism is not the only scientifically based doctrine of the liberation of the proletariat and the struggle for socialism, but is the "ideology of the industrial proletariat", which hinders the winning over of the middle strata. In Marbach's opinion, a rapprochement between the proletariat and the middle classes is only possible on the basis of surrendering of Marxian principles, on the basis of the abandonment of the hegemony of the proletariat, and the abandonment of the revolutionary class struggle. It is true that Marbach babbles about winning over the middle strata. However, he does not want to win

them so as to bring about the overthrow of capitalism, but to preserve it, and his "ideological concessions" even lie in the direction of mastering fascist terminology (*e.g.*, the idea of the "democratic national community of all the toilers").

The second point of importance in the theory of the middle strata which is developed by the social-fascist Marbach is his criticism of the Marxist doctrine regarding the concentration of capital:

> "Despite the classic teachings regarding concentration, many small and medium undertakings stand out with astonishing success against the big factories, because they are less burdened with the basic costs [Fixkosten] and therefore are more flexible in all respects. This is precisely how matters stand during crisis, when the burden of basic costs kills the big factories."

Making this assertion his starting point, Marbach applies the theory of Otto Bauer regarding the peasants to the middle strata of the urban population. In his book on the agrarian question Otto Bauer makes the statement that even under socialism the peasants will not cease to exist as an independent class. In exactly the same way Marbach proves that under a socialist regime the middle strata will also remain the middle strata.

> "Theoretically nothing will happen to the middle classes under the aegis of socialism. They will practically not be touched by imprudent actions. What is taking place in Russia is not socialist action but entirely communist. Many years ago, when nothing had yet been heard about fronts, and the world was divided according to a somewhat different point of view than now, I repeatedly pointed out in my books and articles that trades and handicrafts are not historic 'phenomena of the era', but that they will always exist because they are always necessary. A trade, if the incomes of broad masses are defined, will possibly not be a gold mine but will undoubtedly always be a silver mine to a sufficient degree. It is my opinion that if Marx is read properly, this view in embryo can be found in his writings."

Here the social-fascist Marbach also slanders revolutionary Marxism as the fascists slander it. He tries to incite the middle strata, being ruined by capitalism, against the revolutionary proletariat, when he asserts that these strata are being ruined as a result of "communist activity" in the Soviet Union. At the same time he tries to influence them to believe that the maintenance of capitalism "under the socialist aegis" is able to ensure the continued existence of the middle strata and even the well being of the urban middle class population.

The development of this question by Marbach touches on one of the central questions to which we Communists must give a clear reply—what are the prospects which the middle strata of the population may expect in the future? Here we must prove first of all that capitalism destroys these strata, that capitalism is the real root of the evil and the cause of their present misfortunes. Small enterprises have historically outlived themselves already. The possibilities for them developing are being restricted more and more by the development of large scale industry and wholesale trade. Merciless capitalist exploitation by the banks and the State is hastening the ruin of the small enterprises. All claims that handicrafts and petty trade can still be a silver mine are deceit and trickery.

But what will happen after the proletariat come to power? The revolutionary proletariat do not dream of expropriating the small handicraft workers, the small tradesmen and other representatives of the toiling middle strata. The program of the Communist International stresses with great insistence that large-scale industry, the big banks and the big trading enterprises, have to be expropriated. There is no doubt that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is a transition period on the way to Communism, the advantage of the big enterprise over the small one will also become evident. But when the proletariat are in power, they have a whole number of possibilities for bringing about the transition of the middle strata to socialist forms of production, without resorting to methods of expropriation. These possibilities include the voluntary cooperation of the handicraft men, the employment of small traders as employees and qualified specialists in the apparatus of trading cooperative societies, with full guarantees that the standard of living of these strata will be maintained. There cannot be any talk of the degradation and pauperization of the non-exploiting strata of the petty bourgeoisie. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat will put an end to the impoverishment and pauperization of the non-proletarian toiling masses, and will open up the path towards a cultural and prosperous life for them on the basis of the growth of socialist forms of economy.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE MIDDLE STRATA OF THE TOWNS

In the social structure of the middle strata of the towns, great changes have taken place during the last few decades, and especially since the imperialist war. The general crisis of capitalism leads not only to the acceleration of the process of the proletarization of the petty-bourgeois middle strata, not only intensifies the class differentiation inside the so-called middle class, but also leads to a profound structural change in the social composition of the middle strata.

The influence of the concentration of capital, which brings about the process of the progressive proletariza-

tion of the majority of these strata, is a tendency inherent in the whole of capitalist development. It leads to the fact that ever broader strata of the so-called independent middle strata are disappearing, and their specific relative importance in economics is falling. The tendency of capitalist development is directed to the destruction of the middle strata as an *independent* social force through their expropriation and proletarization. But this does not mean that the petty bourgeoisie simply disappears. As far back as in the *Communist Manifesto,* Marx and Engels pointed out that in capitalism counter tendencies are also at work which lead to a new development of definite strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

> "In those countries where modern civilization has developed, a new petty bourgeoisie has grown up which wavers between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and which is *eternally being formed anew as a supplementary part of bourgeois society*. But competition is continually throwing the members of this class down into the ranks of the proletariat and they are already beginning to see the approach of the moment when, together with the development of big industry, they will entirely disappear as an *independent part of modern society* and will be substituted in trade, in manufactures and in agriculture by the overseer and the servant." (My italics.—P. R.) (See *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, by Marx and Engels.)

It is well known that those in the Second International who vulgarized Marxism have simplified Marxism down to the claim that it teaches that the petty bourgeoisie would disappear entirely owing to the concentration of capital. Since they take this incorrect interpretation of Marxism as their starting point, it is, of course, easy for them to prove that Marx made a mistake, because the middle strata numerically still play a very considerable role. In reality, however, Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* foretold the tendencies which also lead to a new development of certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie, to the rise of a "new petty bourgeoisie".

During the last few decades the process of the formation of certain strata of the so-called "new petty bourgeoisie" has been tremendously accelerated. There are various causes for this. First of all in connection with the transition to monopolist capitalism with its gigantic concentration and centralization of capital, a whole army of administrative officials has become necessary in industry, while overseers are required who play an important role, especially since capitalist rationalization took place. The terrific development of the parasitic features of the capitalistic State apparatus increases the army of officials in exactly the same way as a whole army of modern bank employees arises, owing to the concentration of capital. In particular during the last ten years there has been a speeding-up process in the concentration of capital in commerce as well. Trading firms, chain stores, cheap sales, branch departments, etc., are penetrating more and more into small retail trade in place of the small traders, and require an increasing army of employees. In this way a new petty bourgeoisie arises, but the essence lies in the fact that it is not an *independent* part of modern society, but wavers between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

If the previous petty bourgeoisie might have been described as a stratum which arose from a past era of pre-capitalist production relations, and which, although undermined by capitalism, is nevertheless not completely destroyed by it, the new petty bourgeoisie on the contrary is a child of the very capitalist social order.

A few statistics will show us the role played by the development of the strata in recent years:

> "The number of industrial workers (not counting miners) in Germany increased by 12 per cent between 1907 and 1925, while the number of office workers increased by 111 per cent. In the U.S.A. the increase in the number of workers between 1909 and 1919 amounted to 38 per cent, while the increase of the office workers was 83 per cent. In Great Britain the increase in the number of workers between 1907 and 1924 was 7 per cent, whereas the increase in the number of employees was 56 per cent." (Lederer, *Differentiation of the Proletariat*, p. 150.)

Some of these figures show very clearly why the problem of the petty-bourgeois strata is being raised in the post-war period in quite a different way from that in which it was raised before the war. It is the employee and official who begins to predominate more and more and not the small handicraft man and the small trader. But the differentiation of the petty bourgeoisie is not restricted merely to accelerating the development of these new strata. The significance of the old petty bourgeoisie is changing. It also is more and more ceasing, even formally, to be an independent stratum in society, and is at the same time becoming declassed.

Here are a few examples from Czechoslovakia. Before the war the small shoemakers were still an independent element there. But a huge shoe manufacturing industry grew up, monopolized by the well known "boot king", Batya. The small shoemaker could not compete against large-scale industry, and has become more and more converted into a shoemaker engaged only on repair work or in selling footware received from the factories. The fact that in recent years Batya has laid his hands on the sale of boots and on repair work is resulting in the small shoemakers being economically squeezed out of their last positions.

Take another example,—the sausage makers of Prague, who before the war prepared sausages themselves. During recent years however, this sphere of production has been monopolized by a few large-scale producers. The small sausage makers, it is true, still carry on to some extent, but they have been converted from independent producers into shopkeepers who are more and more dependent on the big producers. The position of the independent small trader in this sphere differs very little from that of the commercial employee. Only the outward appearance of independence remains.

In the big industrial centers, where in recent years bread has begun to be baked in factories for the purpose, the bakers are in many cases ceasing to bake bread independently, and have to a great extent become mere sellers of bread which they have bought from the mechanized bakery.

Such examples could be continued and multiplied endlessly. What do they prove? A considerable number of the so-called independent producers are being proletarianized, but those of them who formally maintain their independence become more and more dependent on monopolist capital which exploits them in various ways.

Thus, on the one hand, there is a process taking place of the expropriation and proletarization of the old petty bourgeoisie, and, on the other hand, there is a process of subordinating them economically, which is more and more doing away with the last remnants of the independent role of the petty bourgeoisie. Here are some characteristic figures showing the position of handicrafts men and domestic craftsmen in Germany: In Grunberg's book entitled *The Middle Estate in Capitalist Society*, it is pointed out that 37.4 per cent of all industrial undertakings belong to handicraft men, but that these 37.4 per cent only employ 12.2 per cent of the workers engaged in industry, and that only 7.85 per cent of the total internal commerce belongs to them. The progressive degradation of the handicraft industry is shown with special vividness in the development of capital investment. In 1924-28, the sum of 39,300 billion marks was invested in German economy. Out of this sum only 1,300 billions, or 3.3 per cent, was invested in handicraft industry, and a large part of this increase in capital investment is spent not on acquiring new equipment but on increasing reserves. These figures in turn prove that even with a more or less stable numerical magnitude, the economic role of the small handicraft men is nevertheless falling. For the vast majority of them this means terrible pauperization. For example, Grunberg gives statistics of the Wisbaden handicraft chamber. According to these statistics, in 1928, in this district, 44 per cent of the handicraft men had an income of less than 1,500 marks a year. In the district of Harburg-Wilhelmsburg (also according to the report of the Chamber of Handicraft) the income of 45-48 per cent of the handicraft men was less than 1,500 marks, while 82.2 per cent received less than 3,000 marks. In many cases this income proves to be smaller than the wages of a skilled worker.

Thus, on the basis of the data we have quoted so far, we can sum up our investigation and draw the conclusion that during the last few decades the development of a new petty bourgeoisie and the economic degradation, impoverishment and the accelerated proletarization of the old petty bourgeoisie constitute fundamental characteristic tendencies of development.

Of course it must be emphasized that this process is taking place within the framework of the growing class differentiation among the middle layers themselves. Among the office workers we see the rise of a small strata to positions which link them up directly with the bourgeoisie. The upper layer of the office workers also belongs to the bourgeoisie, while certain sections of the lower strata of the office workers approach the position of proletarians.*

It may be said of the new, just as of the old, petty bourgeoisie that a process of sharp differentiation is taking place among them. Along with the proletarization and "declassing" of a considerable majority of these strata, a small section of them rise to the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Hence it follows that it is incorrect to regard the middle strata as a single entity. From the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata of office workers, through the ruined and pauperized strata of the petty bourgeoisie to the medium and big bourgeoisie there lies a whole stairway of social layers whose interests differ ever more sharply from each other, and who enter into irreconcilable contradictions.

What is the effect of the modern crisis of capitalism on the middle strata? It hastens and sharpens the process of class differentiation, and hastens the process of the proletarization of the lower ranks. In the big imperialist countries, before the war, tendencies existed which opposed the proletarization of the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie. Not only the aristocracy of labor but also more or less large sections of the petty bourgeoisie received various crumbs from the super-profits made. The possibility of emigration to the colonies and countries beyond the seas made it

* It is incorrect to class these strata with the proletariat simply in view of the fact that they work for wages and draw a salary. But we can speak of them approaching the position of proletarians in places where, for example, the office workers have already been driven into big enterprises, and their conditions in the enterprises differ but slightly from the conditions of the proletariat (the lower railway and postal clerks, the lower employees in department stores, banks, etc.).

possible for a "natural" outflow of the petty bourgeoisie to take place. This becomes particularly clear if we remember that in the only big capitalist State which did not possess colonies, namely Italy (Tripoli was only conquered in 1911) there was to be observed the so-called overproduction of the intelligentsia even before the war. In view of such a peculiar situation, fascism in Italy was able, among other things, to make use of the argument that the Italians taken as a whole are a "nation of proletarians".

But in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, a situation arose when even for the upper ranks of the petty bourgeoisie the restricted possibilities for them rising in the social scale and participating in captalist super-profits which had existed before the war, became still narrower.

This was displayed with special clearness in Germany, which not only lost its colonies, but was subjected to intensive economic plunder in the shape of reparations. In Germany and also in the majority of the economically backward capitalist countries, the process of pauperization and the proletarization of the middle classes stand out with particular clearness. But in the post-war period the same process appears in essence not only in Germany, where the social possibilities for the rise of the petty-bourgeois strata have mostly been undermined, but also in the other big imperialist countries as well. The purchasing power of the toiling masses has fallen steadily, while in view of this the possibilities for the small traders, the small handicraftsmen and the peasants for selling their goods have also dropped. On the other hand, the taxation which these strata have to pay has increased, and increasing indebtedness compels them to pay an ever increasing tribute to finance capital.

All these points which worsen the conditions of the petty-bourgeois masses are interlinked to such an extent with the consequences of the concentration of capital and of the economic crisis that the vast majority of the petty-bourgeois masses who are oppressed by finance capital are almost in a hopeless position. These petty-bourgeois masses are not only smitten down to the starvation standard of living of the proletariat but they are also losing all prospects of an improvement, all possibilities of tearing themselves out of this situation at some time in the future.

Formerly the declassed and expropriated sections of the petty bourgeoisie could pass into the ranks of the proletariat. This is taking place to some extent at the present time. But a large majority of the petty bourgeoisie find this path closed to them as well by structural unemployment, by the reduction in the demand for new labor power, especially as a result of the world economic crisis. Large sections of the petty-bourgeois masses, ruined by finance capital, become declassed and pauperized without perspectives or possibility for finding a way out. This hopelessness makes their position particularly hard.

THE QUESTION OF THE INTELLECTUALS

The intellectuals, the majority of whom are petty-bourgeois, play a special role. The importance of this strata is that in modern society it wields a large ideological influence, and therefore the winning of the skilled strata of the intellectuals takes on special importance within the limits of the struggle to win over the petty-bourgeois strata. The general crisis of capitalism makes itself manifest in respect to the intelligentsia in special forms. The problem of the crisis of the intellectuals arose together with the period of the general crisis of capitalism. An important point in this crisis is the overproduction of the intelligentsia. In his work on the crisis of the intelligentsia, Comrade Fogarashi points out that in Germany there were about 370,000 "surplus" persons with university education, of whom 200,000 were unemployed. In Japan there were 12,163 students who had graduated from universities, but only 4,881 of them could find work. In America, the number of working architects fell from 9,000 to 3,800 in the period between 1928 and 1932, etc.

In a little country like Czechoslovakia, according to bourgeois statistics, there are 20,000 unemployed who have had a university education. This figure is rather below than above the actual figure. But not only does direct unemployment strike at the intellectuals. Those of them who have posts are not only paid on an extremely low scale but they are at the same time becoming more and more disqualified. For example, a certain Czechoslovakian student journal writes as follows regarding the "starting" salaries of those who have graduated in various spheres from the colleges and universities:

> "The teacher at first receives a monthly salary of 700 kron.* It has become an ordinary thing for a barrister's assistant to receive 500-600 kron a month during the first period of his employment, and sometimes he even works free of charge in order to obtain the necessary practice. The average wage of a beginner as a bank employee is 450 kron a month, which, of course, is received after six months work as an apprentice without wages."

The situation is made worse by the fact that in proportion as rationalization develops the mechanization of mental labor takes place. It frequently happens that after long years of study in a university, a person is used on work which only requires low qualifications and is carried out mechanically, thus rendering it impossible for him to make real use of the knowledge he has obtained.

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* Ten kron equal about 22 cents or 1 shilling.

> "For five years on end the chemist is instructed in the secrets of the retort and the beaker so that later on he can perform one and the same analysis according to ready-made recipes in the factory laboratory of some firm, and at the beginning is even given the role of office boy. For four years the engineer gets to know the secrets of machines so that later in the draughtsman's office he can turn out drawings to order, and for the same small detail year after year. And for four years the economist studies burning economic problems from Adam Smith to Zombart, so that later he can occupy himself on registration work in some company or work out the tax balances in some firm."

This is what the fascist theoretician Ferdinand Fried writes in his book *The End of Capitalism,* which sets itself the task of utilizing the discontent of the intellectuals in the interests of fascism, by appealing to their individualist traditions. Fascist demagogy is cleverly able to seize on the most burning problems.

And in actual fact the value of education is falling more and more! This is made worse by the decadent state of capitalist ideology and science, which is openly admitted by such reactionary ideologists of the fascist bourgeoisie as Spengler. Coupled with general impoverishment, this profound crisis of bourgeois culture and science increases the discontent of the intellectuals with the existing order. In order to preserve their social basis in the ranks of the intellectuals, the bourgeoisie resort to a whole series of measures which, however, in the long run still further worsen the conditions of the intellectuals.

In Germany the fascist dictatorship has restricted admissions to the universities. In 1931 the number of students accepted into German universities was 30,800, in 1932 it was 25,400, which was 55 per cent of the total number who had finished the secondary schools. According to a fascist law, in 1933 only 15,500 men and 1,500 women were permitted to enter the universities although 40,000 had finished the secondary schools. However, the fascists declare that in the future this figure will be reduced to 10,000. Along with measures taken to restrict the number of students (numerus clausus—a percentage quota) decisions have now been taken in many capitalist States which involve the limitation of the approach to certain academic professions. For example, such are the lines taken by legislation regarding Jews in fascist Germany, which, by demanding adherence to a definite race, make it possible to narrow down certain professions. The majority of the intellectuals are sacrificed to the fascist "selection of the elite". Similar results have been brought about by other measures adopted in various capitalist countries. The law regarding language, which in reality only provided facilities for State employment to representatives of the dominant nationality (Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.), shows what role the national question in particular countries is playing in these countries.

In view of all this a situation is developing in which a certain small stratum of the intellectuals is ensured the possibility of a secure existence, but at the expense of a larger section who are deprived of every possibility of rising socially. In order to bring about such a reactionary solution of the question of the intellectuals the fascist bourgeoisie make particularly strong use of national demagogy and race hatred. But it is precisely such a bourgeois fascist method of solving the question that worsens the conditions of the toiling intellectuals. The bourgeoisie are unable to do away with unemployment and the crisis among the intellectuals. The bourgeoisie limit themselves merely to splitting the intellectuals into a privileged section, and another section which is denied all possibility of rising socially.

THE POSITION OF THE MIDDLE STRATA IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE, AND FASCISM

The basic interests of the majority of the petty bourgeoisie conform to the interests of the working class. This applies above all to the broad masses of the lower and middle employees and officials. This also applies to the vast majority of the unemployed or exploited toiling intellectuals, and to those strata of the small handicraftmen and traders who do not exploit the labor of others. But since the conditions of the lower strata of employees, and the sections of the petty bourgeoisie who are occupied on wage labor are already directly those of the proletariat, or at any rate very closely approach those of the proletariat, these strata may be regarded as the direct and nearest allies of the proletariat. They may be regarded as a section of the petty bourgeoisie, and the task of winning them must be advanced to the forefront of the proletarian struggle. As for the intellectuals, apart from their bourgeois section, we must distinguish between the layer which works for wages and those who still carry on an independent petty-bourgeois existence (the liberal professions).

Both these strata of the intellectuals may, along with the poorer students, be regarded as the toiling intellectuals, and the task of winning them is of great importance owing to the part they play in social life.

> "The proletariat, most decisively crushing all the counter-revolutionary actions of hostile layers of the intellectuals, must at the same time take into account the necessity for utilizing this skilled social force in Socialist construction, in every way encouraging the neutral groups and especially those who are friendly towards the workers' revolution." (*Program of the Communist International.*)

In addition to winning over this stratum of the employees and of the toiling intellectuals, there also arises the task of winning over or neutralizing the independent middle strata, the small traders and the small handicraftmen, who find it difficult to come over to the proletariat, as they are small property men. Nevertheless, the fact that within the limits of the capitalist system there is no possibility for these small owners to develop further their interests, drives them more and more in the direction of the proletariat. In this connection we must distinguish between that section of the small traders and handicraftmen who do not employ hired labor, and those who have two or three workers or employees.

The attempts of these strata to win back their former conditions which were destroyed by capitalism and to win them back on the basis of the preservation of capitalism, create the prerequisites for these elements to be utilized by reaction. We are therefore faced with the task of showing that such a return is not only reactionary but is utopian, and that therefore the petty-bourgeois masses can only save themselves by fighting for what Marx once defined as their future interests. Now that the Soviet Union exists, we have the greatest possibilities of proving to the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie that the widest prospects of advancement open out before them within the framework of the new order, within the framework of Socialism. And not only because the Communists oppose any violent expropriation of small property. The Socialist reconstruction of economy, the attraction of the toilers into Socialist construction, whether they are intellectuals, office workers or small handicraftmen, will create a new social advancement for the toilers whose standard of living under capitalism is frequently lower than that of the proletariat, instead of as now the fate of becoming declassed.

Therefore Comrade Stalin was right when he wrote:

> "If formerly it was difficult for a socialist to show himself with open visor among the non-proletarian middle strata of the oppressed or oppressing countries, today he can openly propagate the idea of socialism among these strata and expect to be listened to and perhaps even followed, for he possesses so cogent an argument as the October Revolution." (Stalin, *The October Revolution and the Question of the Middle Strata.*)

How could it happen that in a number of countries, above all in Germany but also in France and other countries, a large section of the middle classes caught the bait held out by fascism and, even though temporarily, found themselves on the other side of the barricade? This cannot be simply explained by the agitational smartness of the fascists, but only by the peculiarities of the economic conditions of certain strata, who, although connected *with the proletariat as far as their basic and permanent interests are concerned,* yet come in conflict with the interests of the proletariat by reason of separate, temporary and passing interests. The question of competition plays an enormous role as far as the petty bourgeoisie are concerned. It is precisely in view of the proletarization of the small traders and small handicraftmen that the struggle among them sharpens on the basis of competition, but their struggle against their big capitalist competitors grows particularly sharp. The small handicraftmen and small traders in Germany demand that stern measures be taken against the big department stores, the cheap universal bazaars, etc. The small shoemakers in Czechoslovakia demand that Batya's repair shops be closed by law, etc. In all the capitalist countries at the present time, petty-bourgeois demands of this character are being presented in one form or another, which, although directed against finance capital, are in essence utopian and partly even reactionary. The Nazis were able to let loose their demagogy, in the shape of promises to close the department stores, but as representatives of the interests of capital they do not fulfill their demagogic promises. On the other hand the proletariat, which carries on an unconditional struggle against big commercial capital, will not agree to fulfill such demands because they are directed not only against the capitalists but also against the interests of the employees in the department stores. This reactionary demand leads to a split between these employees and the masses of the petty traders, whereas they should march hand in hand in the struggle against fascism and capitalism.

While rejecting incorrect methods and slogans of struggle against big finance capital, the Communist Party must at the same time advance correct slogans such as will help to unite the proletariat and the masses of the toiling petty bourgeoisie against capital (the question of taxes, etc.).

Some sections of the intellectuals think that they will be able to save themselves from destruction if the number of competitors in their sphere is restricted. Therefore, the reactionary students in many capitalist countries demand the introduction of "percentage quotas". For the same reason certain strata of the intellectuals in Germany welcomed the anti-Semitic incitements carried on by fascism, etc. In reality such reactionary measures cannot save the majority of the intellectuals, but can only counterpose a handful of the privileged to the broad masses of the intellectuals. Only the Socialist system can create possibilities for work for the majority of the intellectuals and even an additional demand for mental labor, as the example of the Soviet Union proves, where, despite the rapid increase in the number of intellectuals from

among the working class and the toiling masses, the demand for skilled workers in the sphere of mental labor is nevertheless increasing.

The situation is different as far as concerns that section of the small handicraftmen and traders who, though they are growing poorer, nevertheless still employ even a very small number of hired workers. It is precisely these strata who constantly come into conflict with the interests of the working class, even when they do not give way to the influence of fascism. A clear example of this is provided by the movement of the small automobile owners in Greece. Together with their chauffeurs they fought against the monopolization of automobile transport in Greece by big foreign capitalist companies. In this struggle these small owners were under the leadership of the revolutionary working class movement. But in the course of this joint struggle, in the course of the united front, a certain contradiction became evident, when the chauffeurs demanded some increase of wages from their small employers. The C.P. of Greece acted correctly when it came out in principle in defense of the workers' demands against the small owners, but at the same time recommended that these demands should not be put in the forefront during the period of the joint struggle against foreign capital.

A similar situation exists in other capitalist countries. The more these property-owning middle strata become impoverished, the more sharply does the tendency develop for them to reduce wages, to bring about the destruction of wage agreements, to put an end to social insurance and other gains of the proletariat. The contradiction of interests which thus arises between the section of the middle classes which employs hired labor and the proletariat, makes it possible for fascism to utilize these strata.

If we take as an example the methods used by fascism to influence the middle strata in Germany, we shall see that the fascists operate in two directions. On the one hand they pretend to defend the interests of the middle strata against finance capital. Their demagogy against the "greed" of capital, against the "slavery of interest", against the big department stores, etc., was all an attempt to give their movement the appearance of an anti-capitalist struggle. But at the same time the fascists appealed to the property-owning instincts of the middle classes, by emphasizing that their "German", "national" socialism is not identical with the destruction of private ownership, but on the contrary they, the fascists, want to defend small ownership, etc. The slander which they hurled against Marxism was aimed at the same time at utilizing the reactionary sentiments of certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie. The fascists appealed in the same way to the intellectuals who adopted a hostile attitude to the equality alleged to be inevitable under Socialism, and who wanted to defend their special position in society. They appealed to the small trader and the small property owner who were sighing for the old patriarchal relations with their employees, because a return to the old system would lead to the abolition of all collective agreements, to the reduction of wages and insurance payments. Thus, fascist agitation was successful among the middle strata because it was able to utilize certain of the interests of various sections of the middle strata against the proletariat.

The bloody experience of the fascist dictatorship in Germany has already shown that that section of the middle strata who believed that they could provide for their own existence by reactionary measures has already become disillusioned. They have been forced to become disillusioned because the objective situation of capitalism is such that it cannot even temporarily give something to the majority of the middle strata. It is just the lessons provided by the fascist dictatorship in Germany that are leading the broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie to the realization that only revolutionary Socialism, only Marxism, can provide them with a way out of the situation.

In the conditions of the fascist dictatorship, the consciousness is coming more and more to the forefront that all measures which link up the fate of the petty bourgeoisie with the fate of dying capitalism, whether these are "socialist" measures or not, are directed in the long run against the basic interests of the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, whose interests are linked up with those of the proletariat and the victory of Socialism.

If it is true that the petty bourgeoisie cannot avoid becoming declassed within the bounds of capitalism, this nevertheless does not mean that the necessity disappears for a struggle for their partial demands. On the contrary! The proletariat and the Communist Party can only win over the petty-bourgeois masses by the fact that they carry on a struggle at the present day for a number of the demands that directly concern the petty bourgeoisie. The struggle of the employees against unemployment and for better conditions of labor; the struggle against unbearable taxes and the burden of debts; the struggle against all the measures of fascist oppression, measures which sometimes strike directly at the petty bourgeoisie—the closing of the possibility of entering universities; the persecution of petty traders and handicraftmen for exceeding fixed prices; the militarization of the student youth in the form of labor service; the swindling collections of contributions, etc.—all this can bring the petty-bourgeois strata nearer to the proletariat. The situation renders it necessary that a series of concrete demands be worked out for each country and for each special section of the middle

classes which are capable of mobilizing these strata for the struggle against capitalism.

In a number of capitalist countries examples already exist of such movements of the petty-bourgeois masses which are developed in the closest alliance with the proletariat, not to mention the colonial and semi-colonial countries where the participation of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist struggle is a well-known thing. How great was the importance, for example, of the fact that not so long ago in the United States the war veterans organized a march on Washington! What a blow was struck at the prestige of British imperialism by the fact that during the last two or three years a wide anti-fascist, anti-imperialist movement has grown up in the British universities embracing thousands of students and, despite a certain pacifist haziness, acting under the slogan of the alliance of the working class and the intellectuals! In France since 1933 there has been a wave of protest demonstrations and active movements by the small traders and the small handicraftmen against the burden of taxation and against the robbery of finance capital. Reactionary elements tried to take shape inside this movement, but it is impossible not to see the growing influence of Communism. In 1934 the broad scope of the proletarian mass movement led to the fact that considerable strata of the petty bourgeoisie joined the anti-fascist movement, and their representatives participated in the anti-fascist congress in Paris. This congress for the first time worked out the concrete partial demands for the petty bourgeoisie. The best minds among the French intellectuals, poets with a world reputation, noted throughout the world, have expressed their sympathy and solidarity with Communism. During the last few years a special organization of the toiling intellectuals has grown up in Czechoslovakia called the "Left Front", which, under the slogan of the alliance of the toiling intellectuals and the proletariat, has already gathered the broad masses of the intellectuals into its ranks, and also a considerable number of the most famous and prominent scientists. In a number of strikes the middle strata have shown extremely active solidarity with the proletariat, often in the shape of money donations or in the shape of closing their stores during proletarian demonstrations (strike in Brux). News is coming ever more frequently of the participation even in Germany of certain petty-bourgeois strata in the collection of money and in various illegal campaigns to help the proletarian class struggle. After the events of June 30 not only has the profound discontent of the broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie against the fascist regime been made clear, but, according to information received from various sources, various sections of the Storm Troops are already beginning to unite with the workers in their struggle.

It is true that all these movements and actions in almost all countries show that there is still a big gap between the objective possibilities and the actual mass influence of the Communist Parties over the petty bourgeoisie. This has its objective causes (primarily the splitting of the proletariat by social-democracy), but also a subjective cause, which consists of the fact that the Communist Party does not maintain a sufficiently intensive course for the winning of the toiling middle strata, that work on this section of the front lags behind. The struggle for the middle classes is a struggle to destroy the mass basis of fascism. In this struggle it is necessary to utilize the disillusionment of the middle strata as a result of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, and the proof that has been given of the impossibility of saving these strata by capitalist methods and to use this for the mobilization of the middle strata for struggle under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. In this connection a big role has been and is being played by the successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the experience of which should be especially widely popularized among the toiling middle strata.

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STRIKE STRUGGLES IN CANADA AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By J. BARNES

THE wave of strikes, which has been steadily on the upgrade despite the expectations of the bourgeoisie and the reformist leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the All-Canadian Congress of Labor and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, indicates the growing and ever widening strides of the Canadian working class to sharper and more bitter battles.

These struggles are carried on against the extremely reduced standard of living, against the terrible working conditions and the speed-up system which have been forced upon the workers during the years of the crisis, as a means of throwing the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class.

The Canadian bourgeoisie attempts to create an "anti-Communist" spirit by placing the entire responsibility for these strikes onto the shoulders of the Communist Party and the Workers' Unity League, the revolutionary trade union center in Canada. They are forced to admit that there is a growing wave of discontent being led by the Communist Party and the Workers' Unity League. The *Financial Post*, mouthpiece of the financial bourgeoisie in Canada, warns the business men not to be "bludgeoned" into signing agreements with the Communist-led unions, but that, "The business man in his fight against the designs of the W.U.L. will find his strongest ally in labor . . ." which is, "the genuine labor movement in Canada that deserves attention . . ." and, "They [the business men] will find the *labor union men still willing to work for them* as long as they, the business men, recognize them as a union." (My emphasis, J. B.) The *Financial Post* points, as evidence of good faith and willingness to cooperate with the businessmen, to the fact that the members of these A. F. of L. and A.C.C.L. unions remained at work, while other workers in the same industry and trade were on strike, the inference being that if they would deal with these reformist unions they would not have had these strikes.

On the other hand, the reformist leaders emphasize this appeal of the *Financial Post* for cooperation between the businessmen and the reformist union leaders, by saying that they are not out to provoke strikes, but, on the contrary, to avoid them through cooperation. They try to create the impression that, where strikes have been conducted by reformist unions, they have in the main been forced upon them by the activities of the W.U.L. The reformists try to hide the real cause for the discontent of the workers. The real causes for this increased strike movement are to be found in such facts as the reduction in wages from about $2,800,000,000 to $1,600,000,000, that is, about 50 per cent. And the increase of prices in connection with the inflation still further lowering the standard of living. The reformists try to cover up the increased rationalization and sweat shop conditions.

Where the reformists have led strikes or where there has been a sentiment for strike action among the rank and file of the reformist unions, the leaders have indulged in "Left" maneuvers, in order to keep their hold on the workers for the purpose of ending the strikes as quickly as possible by effecting a compromise, or trying to direct the resentment of the workers into class collaboration channels, through delays, putting off of decisions, waiting for the results of the Arbitration and Conciliation Boards, negotiations, etc. That these maneuvers and "Left" tricks have in some cases been successful is seen, for example, in the railroads, where the workers voted by a large majority against the proposed 10 per cent wage cut, and the leaders talked strike action and even fired one of their number, Senator Murdoch, for being too raw in his betrayal of the railroad workers. But despite all of that the reformists betrayed the workers and a strike was never called.

The record of strikes in the course of the past 20 months, since the First Congress of the Workers Unity League in August, 1932, shows that the howls of the bourgeoisie, in the *Financial Post* of May 5, that the W.U.L. is leading most of the strikes, are not without good cause. According to their own figures there has been, since September 1, 1932, a total of 350 strikes, 200 of which were in 1933 and 100 in the first four months of 1934. These strikes involved a total of 70,000 workers and the loss of over 775,000 working days. Of the 150 strikes in the five month period between September, 1933, and January, 1934, inclusive, the W.U.L. states that it has led 111 or 75 per cent, the reformists 10 or 15 per cent, the others being led by independent unions or being spontaneous strikes. Of the 100 strikes in the first four months of 1934, 76 were led by the W.U.L. 20 by the reformists and the others were spontaneous or independently led. Over 75 per cent of the strikes led by the W.U.L. in 1933 were either wholly or partially successful, the majority being wholly successful. Of the 76 strikes in 1934 led by the W.U.L. 80 per cent were successful or partially so, winning wage increases ranging from 5 to 50 per cent, defeating wage cuts, improving working

conditions, winning recognition of the union and shop committees, etc. But not all strikes have been under the leadership of the Party and the W.U.L. The reformists have also led and won strikes, although they have been few in number, and, with the exception of the strikes of the paper makers and the Stellarton miners, both of which were forced upon them, have led no big strikes.

Of the 225,000 workers organized in Canada, only 26,000 are organized in the unions affiliated to the Workers Unity League, the others being organized into the American Federation of Labor, the All-Canadian Congress of Labor and the Federation of Catholic Workers. The greatest body of unorganized workers are in the manufacturing industries where there are only 51,000 organized out of 613,000 workers. Of this 51,000 only 10,000 are organized in the revolutionary unions. The railroads are the strongholds of the reformist unions and the railways, with coal mining have the highest percentage of organization. In coal mining the revolutionary unions are the strongest. It can readily be seen that the number of strikes has only touched the fringe of these organized workers and that there is still a large number of unorganized workers who have not been affected by the strike wave.

One fact, which has been deliberately overlooked by the bourgeoisie and the reformists in their tirade against strikes and the Workers' Unity League, is the character of the demands of the strikes. In the first half of 1933 and previously, the strike demands have been mainly against wage cuts, against lay-off, for the return of previous wage cuts, for wage increases, against working conditions, for union and shop committee recognition and against discrimination, with the majority of the strikes being against wage cuts and lay-offs. Since then the order of the demands has been slowly changing. Today the large majority of the strike demands are for wage increases, for the return of previous wage cuts, which now amounts to a demand for a wage increase, against rationalization and speed-up methods, for better working conditions and for the recognition of the union and shop committees. This does not mean that there are no wage cuts taking place, that the employers no longer look upon wage cuts as a means of strengthening their position, or that there is a lessening of the struggle against wage cuts. On the contrary, the attack of the bourgeoisie on the living standards of the workers is still as persistent as formerly and is still being strenuously fought. Where wage cuts are being proposed this is being countered with a demand for wage increases. However, *the emphasis of the strike demands is for wage increases and union and shop committee recognition and the right of the workers to join whatever union they please. The most important strikes of this year have been for wage increases and for shop committee and union recognition.*

Behind these figures of strike struggles, however, there are a number of facts which must be revealed in order to understand the significance of the strike wave and the respective roles of the W.U.L. and the reformist trade union leaders. The first question arises, in what industries have these strikes been conducted and where have the majority of the strikes been won? For the past few years the majority of the most important and most bitterly fought strikes have been under *the leadership of the W.U.L.* These strikes have been in the *lumbering* and *mining* and *manufacturing industries* (*clothing, furniture, textile, food, auto, metal, leather, etc.*). The Government figures for 1933 recording 116 strikes (not all strikes are recorded) show that 14 strikes were in the lumbering industry, 22 in mining, 12 in construction and 65 in manufacturing. The strikes in the lumbering and mining industries have, by far, been the longest and the most bitterly fought struggles, as, for example, the Estevan coal miners' strike, where three miners were murdered by the police, the Crows' Nest Pass Coal Miners' strike, the Anyox metal miners' and smelter workers' strikes, where scores were arrested, the strikers driven from their homes and menaced with the guns of destroyers, the strike of the metal miners in Flinflon, where there were mass arrests, the Frasers saw-mill workers' strike, and the recent strike of British Columbia loggers, all of which have lasted from one to six months. The strikes in the manufacturing industries have been, in the main, of short duration, but with intense struggle, with some very notable exceptions, the Stratford furniture workers' strike, the Hespeler textile workers and some strikes in the needle trades industry. In the manufacturing industries, in the majority of cases, the strikes have been successful after a short struggle. In the lumbering and mining industries, while gains have been won, they have been won at the expense of a long struggle. In a large number of strikes not all demands have been won (Crows' Nest Pass coal miners and British Columbia loggers) and in a number of cases defeated (Estevan and Stellarton coal miners and Anyox metal miners).

In the case of strikes in the manufacturing industries they have been in fairly well populated towns (mainly Winnipeg, Montreal and towns in Southern Ontario) where it is possible to mobilize the workers of other industries and unemployed for the support of the strikers. In the lumbering and mining industries they have been in isolated camps and company towns, completely owned and controlled by the companies, many miles separating them from each other and from business centers. In these strikes the full concentrated force of organized

bourgeois and governmental terror is launched on the workers to crush the strikes.

The fact also that most of the strikes in the manufacturing industries have been more easily won, is partially explained by the fact that the plants have been owned, with some exceptions, by small manufacturers. On the other hand, in the lumbering and especially in the mining industry, the strikers are up against the big corporations, the big bourgeoisie, the banks and through them directly against the government, which now has an intimate interest in bringing the full weight of terroristic pressure to bear upon the workers, to crush them into submission. This is seen in the Anyox, Noranda, Flinflon metal miners, the Crows' Nest Pass and Stellarton coal miners, the British Columbia loggers, the pulp wood cutters of Ontario, and Quebec strikes where tanks, troops, destroyers, airplanes, machine guns, gas bombs, mass concentration of heavily armed police, mass arrests, imprisonment and deportation were used as a means of cowing the workers. Here the workers have to fight such corporations as the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation (D.O.S.C.C.) which has the monopoly of coal production in Nova Scotia and steel production in Canada, and the Bank of Montreal and Dominion Bank of Canada. This does not mean that this terroristic display and use of armed force is not used in the strikes in the manufacturing industry. It is also used in these strikes, as, for instance, the Stratford strike, when the town was turned into an armed military camp with the streets being patroled by tanks and armored cars.

This gives rise to the serious problem of our strike strategy and tactics. The Party and Workers' Unity League have been seriously remiss in making an analysis of these struggles, drawing the lessons from them for the benefit of the revolutionary movement and the entire working class. As a result of this shortcoming we tend to repeat past mistakes, as, for example, in the question of organizing the united front as a weapon in the hands of the workers to win strikes.

In the Stellarton coal strike we had a situation where two unions existed side by side in the same mine; one the United Mine Workers of America, which was the strongest, having a membership of 900 in this mine and the other, the Amalgamated Mine Workers of Nova Scotia, which was a breakaway from the U.M.W.A., and while it was the strongest miners' union in Nova Scotia, it had only 400 members in this mine. The strike was called by the rank and file, but the U.M.W.A. officials immediately took leadership against a 12½ per cent wage cut. During the whole period of this strike, which lasted ten weeks, the Amalgamated Mine Workers Union, which is under our revolutionary leadership, although not affiliated to the W.U.L., did not come forward with the proposal for a united front. The workers were divided into two camps, although there was no struggle among the rank and file. This division of the ranks of the miners left plenty of scope for the U.M.W.A. officials to force the acceptance of the company's proposals. When the strike was ended the U.M.W.A. officials decided that the Amalgamated miners were not to be allowed to work unless they withdrew from that union and joined the U.M.W.A. This was rejected and the men of both unions struck work again. In this second strike the mistakes of the first strike were corrected. A united front was created, with the result that the U.M.W.A. officials and the company backed down. As a result of this new strike and the correct tactics used, the relative positions of the unions in this mine were reversed. The Amalgamated now has 900 and the U.M.W.A. 400 members.

The Anyox strike is one of the best examples of the good and bad sides of the preparations for strike action. Anyox is situated on the Pacific Coast and is accessible only from the sea. The nearest center to it is Prince Rupert, about 200 miles north and Vancouver, the main center of British Columbia, about 600 miles south. Only those who have permits from the company are allowed to enter the camp, which meant that our organizers had to get employment either in the mine or smelter before they could make any headway there. The work was good from the point of view of good organization of the union groups for many months before the strike took place, and of the strict secrecy which was maintained while a wide, intensive agitation, preparing the background for strike action, was carried on, which resulted in the company being taken by surprise, in spite of its wide spy system. *It was bad,* however, from the viewpoint that no attention was paid during this preparatory period to the question of pickets (pickets were established far away from Anyox), of organizing strike relief, of fighting against eviction from the camp, how to meet the police terror and the organizing of a united front with the longshoremen and the seamen to prevent scabs from being taken to the mine and smelters.

In the recent loggers' strike in British Columbia, which was the first general strike of loggers in this province since 1919, when the boss loggers decided to smash the then strong Lumber Workers' Union, and which was one of the most bitterly fought strikes in the recent period, very serious efforts were made to correct the mistakes and shortcomings made in the Anyox strike. Good agitation and organization were conducted for many months before the strike was called, concentrating on a number of important key camps, which were to be the spring-

board for the calling of the general strike in the whole logging industry. It should be noted that this is one of the few strikes organized in enterprises where the Party is concentrating. The men stayed in the logging camps until forced out by the companies and the police and then established picket camps at various points at close proximity to the logging camps. They successfully organized against the importation of scabs in cooperation with the longshoremen and seamen. Mass relief was organized in which reformist unions officially participated and many members of reformist unions were drawn in, for example the street railwaymen collected funds on the streets of Vancouver, while in uniform—more than $3,000 being collected in one day; the city council of Vancouver was forced to give permission for this Tag Day and the reformist Trades and Labor Council (A. F. of L.) was forced, by the mass pressure from below, to support the strike. After a struggle which lasted 13 weeks, the strike was partially successful, the men gaining many demands, including wage increases, the passing of a minimum wage law by the Provincial Government, better working conditions and breaking of the vicious blacklist system which has existed in the British Columbia logging camps since 1919. The most important mistake of this strike was the failure to spread the strike to all logging camps and saw-mills. The strikers were allowed to go to work in camps not on strike, thus dispersing the strike forces, and the strikers were not organized for daily strike activity. Because of these mistakes and shortcomings, one of the most important demands, around which there was a most bitter struggle, was allowed to drop, namely, the recognition of the camp committees. However, committees have been established in at least seven of the camps on strike.

In the Michel coal miners' strike we have one of the best examples of how to prepare and conduct a strike, how to work in a reformist or a company union, under the difficult circumstances prevailing in the logging and mining camps. This was the first strike in ths camp for nine years. For years the miners there have been organized into a company union. Michel was one of the concentration points of the miners of the Crows Nest Pass and their methods of work are excellent examples of how to work in a "Home Local" (local union), in this case a company union. This example offers a good lesson to the mining field of Alberta, where there are many "Home Locals," although not all company unions. For months the miners of the Blairmore and Bellevue mines visited this camp, mixing with the miners, organizing groups of miners according to their nationality and section of the mine, exploiting every opportunity to agitate and organize the miners, for the placing of demands before the company, either directly or in the company union meetings. Open and closed meetings of the mine were held, special concerts arranged in Bellevue and Blairmore, concert parties visited Michel and picnics were organized, to which the Michel miners and their families were specially invited, even arranging for trucks to take them to the concerts or picnics or mass meetings. The programs of these concerts and picnics were interspersed with suitable agitation and propaganda. The conditions and demands were thoroughly discussed, as well as how and who should put them forward and what action was to be taken if these were not granted. After many months of this preparatory work, the men struck work against the "sucker" system (where the best friends of the boss are given the best jobs and the militant miners are discriminated against). The whole surrounding neighborhood of miners and farmers were mobilized into a strong united front in support of the strike. The strike was successful after seven days, all demands being granted. The company union was smashed and the men won over to membership in the Mine Workers Union of Canada, the revolutionary mine workers' union.

In the manufacturing industry our strike strategy and tactics must also be given serious attention. Because most of the strikes have been in small plants, it does not mean that there are only small factories and enterprises. On the contrary, the manufacturing industry in Canada is highly developed, with large and corporation-controlled plants. In this is expressed one of the greatest weaknesses of our strike and factory activity. We have not been able, with the exception of a few cases (Swift's Meat Packing Company, Hespeler Textile, etc.), to penetrate these large plants, lead struggles there and entrench the Party and unions.

In these plants are to be found the great mass of Canadian factory workers. It is only now that we are beginning to organize struggles in these strongholds of Canadian capitalism. Through penetration of the smaller factories, we have been able to gain a foothold in the industries where there are big concerns, and we are now beginning to develop the work of penetrating the larger plants, for instance in the auto industry, penetrating into the plants of Ford and General Motors.

In the Stratford furniture workers' strike we have one of the best examples of all strikes of the correct application of the united front tactics in a strike struggle. In spite of the savage police and military terror and intimidation the workers were successful in winning wage increases as high as 50 per cent, recognition of the union and shop committees and better working conditions. The entire working class population and many of the petty bourgeoisie were mobilized in support of the strike through a broad

united front. The reformist union locals, especially the railroaders, actively assisted in the strike in spite of the opposition and decision of their national leaders. The farmers of the neighborhood were mobilized for relief and the broadest democracy prevailed in the strike leadership.

That there is still a great under-estimation of the role of the united front finds its reflection in almost every strike, in the work in the reformist unions, in the unemployed work and other phases of our activities. It is not yet clearly understood what are the purpose and tasks of the united front and how it is to be organized. Sometimes it is even regarded in the nature of a get-together fest, instead of a means of winning the workers to struggle against the bourgeoisie and as a means of liberating them from the influence of the social-fascists.

There is still present a wrong conception of the united front, as, for example, in Alberta, where the united front conferences had invariably resolved themselves into a discussion with the reformists on issues not affecting the purpose of the conference. Drumheller affords an exception to this, where good work through united front action succeeded in exposing the reactionary leaders of the United Mine Workers of America. In Nova Scotia there has been an almost complete misunderstanding of the united front with the results already mentioned in Stellarton. There is still the tendency prevailing of dividing the workers into the categories of "theirs" and "ours" of placing workers against workers, which invariably results in a united front of "ours" without any or with very few of the "theirs" being present. Such an idea of the united front is empty and futile and leads only to the continued disunity of the workers, and leaves them only to the mercy of the social-fascists.

In the few appeals to the Trades and Labor Congress and the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, for united front action, we have not backed them up with consistent work among the rank and file in support of the proposals which we put forward in the appeals, in order to bring pressure to bear from below on the reformist leaders. We thus give these reformists the opportunity to refuse categorically our offer with a tirade against the Communists or to ignore completely the appeal. At the same time we have not made sufficient use of their refusal of the united front or their silence in order to expose them to the rank and file.

In the mobilization of the workers for strike, insufficient exposure of the maneuvers of the social-fascists and fascists and the fascization of the State apparatus has been made. Within the past months, the Liberal government of Quebec has passed a bill which is of great importance to the workers. Our press does not deal concretely with the contents of the bill, popularly known as the "Arcand" bill, introduced by the Minister of Labor, Arcand, leader of the National Social Christian Party, a growing fascist party in Quebec. This bill is for the enforcement of collective bargaining agreements between the workers and the employers. They can be signed either by the workers collectively, by a committee representative of the workers, or by the union of these workers, whether all or a majority of the workers are in the union or not, except the revolutionary unions, and it provides for fines and imprisonment for violation of the terms of the bill. The workers are denied the right of strike, but must submit their grievances to arbitration commissions. When it is considered that a union, irrespective of whether it is representative of the workers or not, or a committee supposedly representative of the workers, can sign an agreement, it can be seen that the workers have no say in the framing of these agreements and are placed at the mercy of the social-fascist leaders of the A. F. of L. and the fascist leaders of the Federation of Catholic Workers. On the other hand, the bill establishes, through commissions, minimum wages, the violation of which calls for fine or imprisonment. At the present time there is an intensive campaign in Quebec, under the leadership of the fascist Arcand and the N.S.C.P. for the minimum wage and there is hardly an issue of the bourgeois press which does not contain stories of employers being brought before the courts for violation of the minimum wage. The effects of this demagogic campaign are that the attack on workers' rights is glossed over and workers are being fooled into the belief that the bill is beneficial to them and into support of Arcand and fascism. Another purpose is achieved through this campaign. The N.S.C.P. and Arcand are rabid anti-Semites and have utilized this campaign to direct their fire against the Jews, thus increasing the national sentiments of the French-Canadians. The failure to expose this bill thoroughly, from all angles, as well as the failure to expose the statements of Taschereau, Prime Minister of Quebec, which held a veiled threat of concentration camps for strikers, do not aid us in winning the leadership of the French-Canadian masses nor in warning the workers under the leadership of other parties of Canada against a repetition of this bill in other provinces or even on a federal scale.

The question of the proper slogans and demands to be raised and how they are to be raised, is still a weakness of the strikes led by the revolutionary unions, and in preparations for these strikes. There is still a tendency to bring the demands down only from the top and to issue slogans which are out of touch with reality, instead of having them arising from the workers, based on the concrete conditions. An example of this is the "Left" slogan of the

"General Strike", issued on the railroads at a time when our influence among the railwaymen was extremely weak and when there was no basis of preparatory work carried on for the realization of such a slogan. The demand for the "abolition of piece-work, no contracting, forty-hour week and unemployment insurance" in the needle trades, the "abolition of the contract and bonus system" in the Frood nickel mine—these slogans, although correct in themselves, were completely disconnected from the question of wage cuts and terrible working conditions, and, therefore, only led to a weakening of our influence.

In many of the strikes we have led, the face of the Party has been hidden. Our comrades have not yet become convinced of the fact that the workers are willing to struggle and that with the correct approach and proper methods of leadership, they can be drawn closer to the Communist Party. The workers are not averse to being called "Red". This "theory" that the workers do not want to be called "Reds" has resulted in many of our comrades in strike leadership retreating from the "Red scare" thrown out by the bourgeoisie. In the Stratford strike our comrades denied that they were Communists, at the time when the social-fascists were making efforts to win the workers away from our leadership, with the result that a number of reformists were able to penetrate our union. This was shown later when the Toronto local of the union refused to hear a delegation from the "Tim Buck United Front Election Committee". In another strike our comrades turned the presentation of the policy and program of the W.U.L. over to a member of the Independent Labor Party, who, taking advantage of this, presented the policy of the I.L.P., and our comrades were squeezed out of the leadership. Such an approach explains to some extent why our organizational growth is very small compared with the number of strikes and workers we have led. It is in line with the assertion that the "workers won't fight under our leadership" and amounts to a complete denial of the role and possibility of organizing a united front for struggle and building the Party and revolutionary unions out of those struggles. The Party and W.U.L. have nevertheless succeeded in building a number of unions and groups out of the strikes led by us. In Stratford the workers are organized 100 per cent into our union, over 1,000 metal miners have joined the Mine Workers Union in Noranda and Flinflon; over 3,000 loggers joined the Lumber Workers Union in British Columbia. Great weakness still exists in the development of cadres of leaders from these strikes. Few experienced comrades are left behind to continue the leadership of the Party and Union.

The reformist unions are seething with growing discontent, which is finding its expression in revolts against the leadership (tailors of Montreal and the breakaway of the miners of Nova Scotia), in outlaw strikes (pulp and paper workers of Port Arthur), in forced actions of the leaders under the pressure of the rank and file (Vancouver Street Railwaymen and U.M.W.A. Miners of Stellarton). But in the main the reformists are playing their usual role of leading strikes and mass actions only in order to defeat them. In the Port Arthur pulp and paper workers' strike, the workers struck over the heads of the leadership, but the reformists were able to step in and take over the leadership of the strike and end it with a defeat for the workers. In Stellarton, the rank-and-file miners forced the sanctioning of the strike, commencing the strike over the heads of the leaders, but, owing to the mistakes made there, they were betrayed into acceptance of the company's terms. In Vancouver the militancy of the workers and the good work of the revolutionary opposition in the Street Railwaymen's Union (A. F. of L.) prevented a similar situation occurring there.

In the strikes under the leadership of the revolutionary unions the reformists have been in the main absent. However, in a few instances they have attempted to step in and take away the leadership from us. Stratford, and the strike of the fur dressers and dyers of Toronto, are examples of this. In Stratford, as already mentioned, a number of reformists succeeded in penetrating our union. In the fur dressers' and dyers' strike they were completely repudiated by the workers. Their tactics on this occasion were to get the employer to make it known that he would sign an agreement with the workers, if the workers would drop the leadership of the W.U.L. The reformists had even prepared the agreement all ready to sign it. They came to the meeting of the strikers to present their case, but our comrades seized the opportunity to expose them thoroughly, with the result that the workers decided not to permit them to speak at their meetings, reendorsed the W.U.L. leadership and affiliated their newly formed union to the W.U.L.

The main reason, however, why the organized workers in the reformist unions have not been drawn more into struggles against the employers is because of the weakness of our exposure of the social-fascist leaders of the reformist unions, the extreme weakness of our revolutionary opposition work and the sectarian methods of work and approach to such work. While it is true that some progress has been made in the development of the oppositional work in the past year, notably in the railroad unions of Winnipeg and Toronto, the Vancouver street railwaymen's union and longshoremen, in the needle trade unions and to a lesser extent in the pulp and paper and mining unions, nevertheless their growth

is far from being in proportion to our influence and possibilities.

How have we approached this work in the reformist unions? Here are a few examples: In Nova Scotia where two unions of miners exist, our comrades took the position that the miners in the United Mine Workers are "untouchables", talked about organizing a united front with them, but went no further than to make appeals without trying to convince these miners of the need for such a united front, and, as these miners did not accept, they were severely criticized and condemned because they did not join the Amalgamated Miners Union.

In the railroads, when our comrades conceived the idea that a general strike was an immediate possibility, instead of intensifying the work in the unions, they issued the slogan of "general strike" and called for the formation of a "Railroad Workers' Industrial League". This at a time when we had far less members in the opposition movement than today. Instead of utilizing the wide discontent of the railroad workers for the development of a rank-and-file opposition movement, we formed a Railroad Workers' Industrial League, giving it the same sectarian character as the Railroad Workers' Industrial Union. In Regina, our comrades broke away from a bricklayers' union local and set out for the formation of an Industrial Union of Bricklayers. In Toronto, instead of working in the Building Trades Union, a Building Trades Industrial Union is formed. The formation of such unions and leagues does not lead to the development of a wide united front opposition movement, based on a program of concrete daily demands and as a result of the persistent every-day work of our comrades in the reformist unions. This does not succeed in exposing the maneuvers of the reformists and winning the workers to our leadership. Trying to weaken the influence of the reformists and build the revolutionary unions by breaking off pieces from the reformist unions lead, not to the growth of the revolutionary trade union movement, but to further isolation and strengthening of the position of the reformists.

We cover up the neglect of work in the reformist unions (we are carrying on work in only 15 to 20 unions) with the opportunist "theory" that the "reformist unions are only shells", therefore there is no need to work in them; "let us build the revolutionary unions and help the collapse of the reformist unions". While it is true that the reformist unions are losing members (A. F. of L. lost over 33,000 between 1930 and 1933), and some are merely shells of what they once were, for example, the building trades unions, there are nevertheless 105,000 members in the A. F. of L. today and over 8,000 members in the three main A. F. of L. building trades unions. The failure to fight for the elective positions in the reformist unions arises from the idea that the task of the Communists is, not to be the practical leaders of the workers in struggle, but to indulge merely in criticism.

Where work in the reformist unions has been carried on, it is very often not linked up with the daily struggles in the shops, but in many respects is divorced from it. For example, in the needle trades, the tendency has been, in the unions, to center the fire on the bureaucrats without connecting it with the struggle in the shops against the boss and for concrete demands,

In the work of the revolutionary opposition there is a tendency to get away from a broad opposition movement, to narrow the opposition to those workers who accept the program and policy of the W.U.L. in its entirety. In a statement of the W.U.L. on the organizations of the workers in Canada, there is mentioned W.U.L. opposition groups in about ten reformist unions, with a majority of the membership in the needle trades. The Railroad Workers' Industrial League, despite a small membership, is given a name which stamps it in the eyes of the workers as a union. Similarly is the case with the Building Trades Industrial Union in Toronto. But nowhere in the statement is there any mention of any broad rank-and-file opposition movement. Such an approach to the question of work in the reformist unions leads to isolation in the reformist unions.

At the same time, there are excellent examples of good work in the reformist unions. In the Vancouver Street Railwaymen's Union we were successful in mobilizing the workers against and defeating a wage cut. In the longshoremen's union in Vancouver a wide network of opposition groups were developed, daily agitation carried on, and a paper published. The majority of the longshoremen went over to the policy of the W.U.L. and the unions amalgamated. In Drumheller as a result of the rank-and-file movement the bureaucrats were driven from the local meetings.

This situation, with the growing number of strikes, with the rank and file of the reformist unions in growing revolt against their leaders, breaking away from them and forming new unions (Amalgamated Mine Workers of Nova Scotia and the tailors of Montreal, who were later brought back to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers [A. F. of L.]) striking over the heads of the reformist leaders (paper makers of Port Arthur) demands that there be a radical change in the approach to the work in the reformist union. The sectarian tendency of breaking locals away and forming revolutionary unions, the forming of small unions (Building Trades Workers Industrial Union) and "near" unions (Railroad Workers Industrial League) must be corrected. For the

Party and W.U.L. to develop leadership of the mass movement of the workers, it is necessary that the persistent daily work be carried on in the factories and unions, among the unorganized and the organized workers, in the reformist unions, without neglecting the work in the revolutionary unions. The opportunist sectarian methods of work must be liquidated and the narrow opposition broadened out into a mass united front rank-and-file movement.

The Party and W.U.L. during strikes must lay stress on the consolidation of the results of the strikes by strengthening the Party and unions, by building local union leadership from the ranks of the militant strikers' groups among the Anglo-Saxon and French-Canadian actives who know and understand the industry. The inner life of the local Party and union organizations must improve so that they deal mainly with the daily problems of the workers. The political level of the membership of the Party and unions must be raised.

A break must be made once and for all with the narrow conceptions of the united front tactics, broadening it out and cease making them only talk and having discussion fests with the reformists and ourselves, but turn them into a real broad united front for struggle.

The Party and W.U.L. must make a most careful analysis of each strike, popularizing the lessons among the broad mass of workers in the Party and trade union press. The Party district committees and W.U.L. local councils must analyze the strikes in the districts and develop a wide discussion in the Party and unions on the lessons without waiting until the Central Committee does so.

Pamphlets should be published, drawing the lessons of the most important strikes and popularizing the decisions on strike strategy made at the Strassburg Conference.

In the preparations for a strike, careful attention should be paid to the organization of a strike fund.

In the further development of strikes the main emphasis should be laid on the large monopoly-controlled plants. In these industries and plants, where there is no organization and where it is not possible to form revolutionary unions owing to varying objective conditions, the Party and W.U.L. should seriously consider the formation of independent unions, working within them, strengthening and consolidating our leadership and influence. However, it is clear that the forming of these independent unions must be made only after a careful and thorough analysis of each individual concrete case.

The Party and the W.U.L. must in every individual case decide the question of the advisability or indesirability of organizing small Red trade unions in those places and branches of industries where there exists or where there arises a real reformist trade union organization. The question of whether a Red trade union local in one factory can lay the foundation for the formation of a Red trade union existing parallel with the reformist trade union or whether it be more advisable to join this local union to the existing reformist trade union, depends on the concrete situation and must be seriously considered by the Party and W.U.L.

It is clear, however, that the Party must not lose the opportunity for the organization of and extension of the revolutionary unions in those branches of industry where no branches of the Red trade unions already exist, taking the above into consideration. The Party must consider whether it is advisable to transfer into the main reformist unions the members of the already existing local of the Red trade union if it is only a small group which grows badly or does not grow at all.

To broaden our influence among the members of the reformist unions, the Party and W.U.L. must carry on a stubborn struggle against any resistance and under-estimation of the work inside of the reformist unions that is usually covered up by all kinds of "theories".

The Party and W.U.L. must immediately liquidate the neglect of work in the Federation of Catholic workers and commence to build up groups in these unions, developing a wide rank-and-file opposition movement against the program and policy of their reformists and those rapidly fascizing leaders.

It is necessary to expose in more concrete detail the various bills passed in Parliament which are directed against the conditions of the workers and attack the rights of the workers, as, for example, the Arcand bill in Quebec and the Alberta version of the United States National Industrial Recovery Act.

The carrying out of these tasks will ensure that the workers will more and more follow the leadership of the Party and the Workers' Unity League and be won away from the leadership of the reformists and fascizing leaders and that the Party and W.U.L. will continue in its role as the leader of the strike struggles of the Canadian working class.

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